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A PEOPLE AT WAR:

HAGERSTOWN, MARYLAND, JUNE 15-AUGUST 31, 1863.

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

During peace times the people along the border or boundary of two nations are likely to maintain friendly, and even intimate, associations and relationships. They engage in trade and commerce with each other, participate in joint social and religious exercises, and often intermarry. If the two nations have different languages the people of the one often speak the language of their neighbor nation as well as their own. But in war times the people of the borderland are more divided than those of the interior. The bonds that draw them together in peace are sundered and public feeling runs at high tension. The necessity of loyalty to one's own country causes the people to look with suspicion upon their friends and neighbors across the border. There are also divided loyalties at home, and communities are torn with dissension; families are divided and brother is pitted against brother and father against son.

Feeling is particularly taut in times of civil conflict. This was the case in the border slave states during the American Civil War. Public feeling was intense in Maryland because of her geographic location and the strong counter currents of her own public opinion;¹ the conflict in opinion and sympathy was especially

¹ Charles Branch Clark, "Politics in Maryland During the Civil War," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI (No. 3, September, 1941), 241 and *passim*.

marked in Western Maryland.² The general pattern of life, family ties and social relationships, slave interests, and the belief in State sovereignty and Southern rights pulled the people toward the Confederacy; but economic exchange and the love of the Union held fast to the United States. Many Western Marylanders had attended college in Pennsylvania and others had intermarried with the Pennsylvania Dutch. Furthermore, many of them were of the same German stock as their Pennsylvania neighbors. Consequently a majority of the people of Western Maryland favored the Union, but a large and respectable element favored the South and opposed the coercion of the seceding states.

The tone and character of resolutions adopted by public meetings illustrate the divided sentiment. A meeting at Hancock resolved that, "standing as we do between the two extremes," we cannot "look upon the result of our recent election as a justification for a withdrawal from the National Union, and consequently a disruption of our government." An assembly of Frederick asked the legislature to appoint delegates "to represent the State in such general convention of the slave-holding States as may be convoked to guard and protect Southern interests and Southern rights." The people of Rockville divided equally on the resolution "That if, unfortunately, the slavery question cannot now be settled permanently upon terms acceptable to the South and the North, and the Union should be dissolved, then Maryland ought to go with the South." And a Hagerstown gathering declared "that in our opinion and judgment the present evils of our country have been produced and precipitated upon us by a persistent and dogmatical course of fanaticism in the Northern States . . . and the Southern and slave-holding States of this Union have suffered much at the hands of the people of the Northern States." When the resolution was adopted a large Unionist group withdrew and adopted resolutions strongly favoring the North.³

Hagerstown, situated six miles from the Pennsylvania state line on the north and six miles from the Virginia state line on the south, illustrates clearly and forcefully the discord and difficulties

² John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland. Being a History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett Counties From the Earliest Period to the Present Day: Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men*, 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1882), I, 194 and *passim*.

³ For these and similar resolutions see Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 195-197.

of a border town during the War. It changed hands several times during the conflict and first one and then the other faction held the upper hand. Early in June of 1861 Major General Robert Patterson with some ten thousand Federal troops occupied the town with his headquarters in the Hagerstown Female Seminary. He ordered the arrest of such leading Southern sympathizers as Judge Richard H. Alvey of the State Court of Appeals and Dr. Charles MacGill, a noted physician. There was much skirmishing in the vicinity in 1861-1862. When General Nathaniel P. Banks was defeated by the Confederates and forced to withdraw in May, 1862, his troops destroyed the press, type, materials, and building of the Hagerstown *Mail* and other business enterprises. When they learned that the building belonged to a Union man the Federals raised money to pay him for his loss. When the Confederates occupied the town the provost marshal used the same quarters the Union provost marshal had formerly occupied. General Jonathan T. (Stonewall) Jackson's forces soon withdrew, but General James Longstreet was back again in September, 1862.

As General Robert E. Lee's forces passed through the town on its first invasion of the Union in 1862, a Confederate correspondent wrote that "Some few young men openly avowed their Southern feeling and joined us, but the greater number stood as if thinking, 'I should much like to assist you if I dared, but how long will you remain? I am between two fires; I must sacrifice principle and secure my home.'"⁴ The Unionists fled across the border into Pennsylvania but the Confederates suppressed their paper, the *Herald and Torch*.

Hagerstown was again in the path of General Lee's army when he invaded Pennsylvania in 1863, and Southern sympathizers welcomed the Confederates once more. From June 15 to July 14 the Confederates were in and about the town and their supporters were in high spirits. But when the Confederates withdrew after the disastrous defeat at Gettysburg and the Federals reoccupied the town Southern sympathizers had to pay for their disloyalty. Many were banished from their homes and others fled to escape punishment. For a time, however, the Federal army found hospitals in the Washington House and the Lyceum Hall while at the same time the Confederate sick and wounded were hospitalized in the Female Seminary building.

⁴ Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, 229, says only about two hundred joined the invasion forces.

These stirring days in Hagerstown were graphically depicted in a Diary kept by Mary Louisa, generally known as Lutie, Kealhofer. She was the daughter of George Kealhofer, president of the Hagerstown Gas Light Company, and his wife Mary Hamenkamp, well-to-do Southern sympathizers. Lutie was at this time only twenty-two years of age and she displayed a spirited zeal for the Confederate cause, part of which may unquestionably be attributed to the fact that her suitor and future husband served in the Confederate army on the invasion and visited her a number of times while in the vicinity of Hagerstown.

Miss Kealhofer's Diary was kept in a small cloth-bound book, three inches by five. It begins with the entry of June 21 and closes with that of August 31, except for a single entry for June 30, 1864. The book also contains a journal of a trip taken by Miss Kealhofer in 1864 from Hagerstown through Harrisburgh, Pennsylvania, Elmira and Rochester, New York, to Niagara Falls. Leaving Niagara, Miss Kealhofer visited Toronto, Kingston and Montreal, Canada, and returned home by way of Saratoga, Albany, New York City, and Philadelphia. But it is the Diary which is of interest here.

DIARY OF MISS LUTIE KEALHOFER ⁵

Hagerstown, Maryland.

Sunday June 21, 1863

Monday afternoon June 15, 1863 Hagerstown was occupied by the Confederates.⁶ Tuesday was a day of intense excitement. Every day since we have been seeing old friends & meeting new ones. Many—indeed all pleasant acquaintances. Thursday evening to my great surprise Willie

⁵ The Diary was presented to the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina by Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr., the daughter of the writer of the Diary.

⁶ The desire to compel the Federal forces to withdraw from their stronghold on the Rappahannock, the urgent necessity of provisions for his own army, and the hope that the Peace group in the North would bring pressure on the government and compel it to sue for peace if the war was brought home to them led General Robert E. Lee to determine upon an invasion of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1863. He reorganized his army placing General Richard Stoddert Ewell in command of Jackson's Corps, General James Longstreet was in command of the First Corps, and General Ambrose P. Hill was given command of the new Third Corps. General Ewell led the invasion into Pennsylvania by way of Winchester and Hagerstown. His troops reached Hagerstown on June 15. This same Corps had been there in 1862. See Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee. A Biography*, 4 volumes (New York: Scribner, 1935), III, 1-2, 18-19, 36-38.

Giles⁷ arrived here—remained Friday & yesterday [Sat] went with a part of his company to Pennsylvania. This morning [Sunday] he left with his friend Mr. Rensch⁸ for Frederick. Gen Ewell has just passed from the R. C. Church in a carriage⁹—but has driven so rapidly that we had only a glimpse of him.

Monday June 22

One week we had been in Dixie. Mr. France took tea with us again last evening with his friend Major Blackford.¹⁰ I like him very much. This morning they all left for Penn—Infantry, Cavalry, & artillery. General Ramseur¹¹ said he bade us goodbye only for a little while. It is very quiet here today & has been notwithstanding the thousands of soldiers all around us. I wish the boys were home.¹² We heard of them this morning.

It is very quiet now. Thousands upon thousands of soldiers passed through yesterday—54 pieces of artillery, etc. etc. Met some of my old friends—amongst them Henry Douglas A. A. G.¹³—he is not spoiled & just the same old Henry. I think he is a good friend of mine. This morning Willie G.[iles] stopped with some of his friends Company C—for a moment on their way to Penna. They're all gone now—oh how earnestly I *pray* they may all return in safety. I cannot help feeling anxious.

⁷ Willie Giles was William Fell Giles, Jr., son of Judge William Fell and Sarah (Wilson) Giles. He was born in Baltimore in 1835 and died in Chamburg, France in 1891. He was graduated from Princeton University, served as an officer in the Confederate army and as United States consul at Geneva, Switzerland. He married Miss Lutie Kealhofer, the author of the Diary. Mrs. Harry W. (Mary Giles) Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

⁸ Benjamin Rensch was the son of Andrew Rensch, a leading planter of Washington County, Maryland. Benjamin was a director of the county Agricultural Society. His youngest brother DeWitt Clinton was stoned and shot to death by a Unionist mob at Williamsport when he announced that he was going to join the Confederate army. Henry Kyd Douglas, *I Rode With Stonewall*, edited with notes and a biographical sketch of the author by Fletcher M. Green (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), pp. 7, 155-156. See also Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1309.

⁹ Richard Stoddert Ewell, born in Georgetown, D. C. and educated at the United States Military Academy, lost a leg at Groveton and had to be lifted and strapped to his saddle. He rode in a carriage whenever possible.

¹⁰ Major William Blackford of General Rhodes's division.

¹¹ Stephen Dodson Ramseur (1837-1864) of Lincolnton, North Carolina, and a graduate of the United States Military Academy, was a brigadier general in D. H. Hill's division of the Second Corps.

¹² "The boys" were Miss Lutie's brothers, Richard H. and William Kealhofer. They were attending Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Neither served in either the Confederate or Union army. Richard H. later studied medicine in Vienna. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, February 1, 1943.

¹³ Henry Kyd Douglas, Assistant Adjutant General to Major General Edward Johnson commanding Stonewall Jackson's old division, was born at Shepherdstown, Virginia, in 1840 and died in Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1903. He was the author of *I Rode With Stonewall*. For a sketch of his career see Fletcher M. Green, "The Author and His Book," in *ibid.*, pp. 351-358.

Tom H is in town. Mr. Swann has just arrived—reports A. P. Hill crossing at Shepherdstown.¹⁴ Belle Boyd was in town yesterday. The famous Belle Boyd¹⁵—She is by no means the masculine looking person I expected to see. Henry Bell¹⁶ goes tonight—I wish I knew where the boys are—God will take care of them.

Thursday Evening 25th

More old friends—how glad I am to see them. I feel that we are really in Dixie for good. So many soldiers—such an immense army. Gen. A. P. Hill passed through this morning. His Corps is incamped near town.

Sat Even 27th

The cry is still, "They Come!" It would be useless to mention names. I should never get through. Yesterday I had the honor of an introduction to Gen. R. E. Lee, Gen. Longstreet & Gen. Pickett. I shall ever remember & feel proud of having shaken hands with such men. I still feel anxious about the absent but trust all will be well with them.

Sunday Morn June 28th

Was roused early this morning to see my old friend Charles Hardy. He stayed until after breakfast and then hurried off as there is a rumor the Yankees are coming & he had something important in charge. I never saw men so bold as the Rebels. They are so cool & seem disposed to take their time—not at all alarmed at the approach of the enemy.¹⁷ I hope there may be no fighting here.

Sunday Night

We had quite an amusing time this evening—a squad of Yankees dashed in town—but before they had time even to parole the prisoners they heard the Rebels were coming & out they flew faster than they came. The Rebels dashed after them but did not overtake them. They coolly took Mr. Young's hogs, watch, & other things—but had not time to accomplish much.

¹⁴ General Ambrose P. Hill, commanding the Third Corps, led his army from Culpeper, Virginia, up the Rappahannock, crossed the Blue Ridge at Chester Gap, and from thence followed General Ewell's route to Gettysburg.

¹⁵ Belle Boyd's home was in nearby Martinsburg, Virginia. For a good account of her exploits as a Confederate spy see Louis A. Sigaud, *Belle Boyd, Confederate Spy* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1944).

¹⁶ Henry Bell, son of William D. Bell, founder of the Hagerstown *Torch-Light*, was born in Hagerstown and served in the Confederate army throughout the War. His brother George was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1853 and was a general in the Union Army.

¹⁷ This view is borne out by the Hagerstown *Herald and Torch* which reported that "The condition and morale of the Confederate army is beyond description. They come among us not only badly clothed . . . but in a half-starving condition . . . but they fight desperately."

Tuesday Eve

Feel rather better this evening but was really miserable all yesterday with my back. Things appear to be "In Statu Quo." Some persons who tried to get to Balt—returned today & report the R. Road torn up beyond Fred. These are stirring times—one hour we are under Jeff Davis—the next under Abraham & before the good Union people have time to congratulate themselves upon their release from Rebel rule in dashes a squad of these impudent Rebels & Jeff claims us again. So the world goes. I've given up some of my former *friends* (?) Loulie Mc was here this morning—she bears up nobly but seems lost without Charlie.¹⁸ We're determined to go to the R. Catholic Church.

Friday, July 3rd

Was surprised last Eve by a visit from Mr. Hewless. A large body of Rebel cavalry was in town yesterday, the notorious Moseby¹⁹ amongst them. At dinner today he heard that some Union people had sent for some of their men to capture him & his two aids—he quietly finished his dinner & after strolling around awhile the three started off in the direction the Yankees were expected—We've seen none since Wed. Morn. Jefferson has claimed us—I suppose just at this moment we are on neutral ground.

Sat, July 4, 1863.

I little dreamed this day one year ago that my next 4th July would be spent in ministering to the inmates of a Rebel Hospital.²⁰ Such has indeed been the case. They are all pretty comfortable & doing well. There has been some excitement in town this afternoon caused by a dash of Yankee Cav. They charged up street with drawn bayonets in fine style—several of them were unhorsed—finding no enemy they returned & now not a blue coat is to be seen.

Heavy fighting has been & is perhaps now going on in Penna—What an anxious time for those who have friends engaged. I scarcely allow myself to think of it & yet thoughts will rise unbidden. God have mercy on them & spare them.

Sunday July 5th

Such a night as the last I hope never to pass again. The boys returned & as I feared Dick has been very ill²¹—is much reduced. I am thankful

¹⁸ Loulie McHenry of Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Charlie was Dr. Charles MacGill, Jr. a physician who served in the Confederate army throughout the war and who afterwards married Miss McHenry. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr., to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

¹⁹ "The notorious Moseby" was John Singleton Mosby (1833-1916) famous cavalry leader of the Confederate army. For an interesting account of his services see Virgil Carrington Jones, *Ranger Mosby* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

²⁰ The buildings of the Hagerstown Female Seminary, opened in 1853 and operated by the Maryland Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, were used by the Confederates for a hospital.

²¹ Lutie's brothers Richard H. and William Kealhofer returned home from Franklin and Marshall College when the Confederates invaded Pennsylvania.

they are home. Willie [Kealhofer] & I sat up pretty late & I must have just gone to sleep when I was roused by Nancy's²² exclamation & the noise of wagons. I hastily threw on some clothes went down stairs and found Willie [Giles] & a Mr. Knox. Their company was detailed to guard these wagons with the wounded. My heart sickens at the thought of these noble men—wounded & suffering & no friendly hand near. Maryland has suffered deeply—dreadfully. Last night I felt as if my brain was on fire—the constant anxiety is fearful to one deeply interested. I've just heard that our dear gallant Henry Douglas has been mortally wounded.²³ I cannot, will not believe it. His last words—how they sing in my ears—"If I am wounded I will be carried straight here & you & your Ma must nurse me."

Monday July 6th, 1863

Afternoon At this moment fighting is going on in our very town & balls are whizzing through the streets. I wonder at myself, my composure—Oh God, of Heaven have mercy upon us and deliver us from this terrible war.

Wednesday 8th July

From seven o'clock yesterday morning until midnight I had company—amongst them Capt. Milledge²⁴ that Ma took such a fancy to last summer. He is a perfect gentleman. Willie G. came at tea time—left between 11 & 12 with Henry Bell & others. We were very anxious all night about Dick but this morning he seems easier & rather better. I shall see no company today. There was too much excitement yesterday. I saw nearly everybody yesterday. This morning the cavalry is all ordered to Frederick.

Tuesday July 14th.

Sunday was a day of intense anxiety. The Yankees came & took possession of the town. The Rebels had all gone. Yesterday all day the streets were crowded with horse & no one could go near the door as the street was used as a stable—about 6 p. m. they were removed, having been there without being fed or unsaddled for 24 hours—poor brutes they must suffer too. This morning an immense cavalry force dashed through town very boldly—it is reported the Rebels have crossed the river but we know nothing. Oh this dreadful suspense if I could only hear my friends were safe. I fear we've seen the very last of the Rebels. W.[illiam Giles] left Sunday was on duty all night & stopped a moment Sat Morn—dear

²² Nancy was a slave girl belonging to the Kealhofer family. Mrs. Harry W. Blount, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

²³ Henry Kyd Douglass was wounded at Gettysburg but recovered and lived until 1903. He was kept a prisoner for some time at the Theological Seminary in Gettysburg before being sent to Johnson's Island. See *I Rode With Stonewall*, pp. 254, 260.

²⁴ Captain John Milledge, Company D, First Georgia Regulars, Infantry.

knows where they all are now, safe I sincerely hope. Friday Eve we had the first direct intelligence from Henry [Kyd Douglas]. Benny Pendleton brought his things to Ma. Ewells Corps passed through that evening & about 10 p. m. General Ramseur rode up—dismounted, came to the window for a little while. He was in splendid spirits & indeed they all were. I must confess army movements are the most mysterious things in the world. I cannot comprehend.

Friday Aug 21st.

It has been a long time since I have written in here—not since the army left—although many things have happened during the interim the all absorbing topic has been the Hospital. We are not allowed to enter & even the 4 young men at the Sem²⁵ are not permitted to receive the attentions we would so gladly bestow. Mr. Hamilton's house is still used as Headqts.²⁶ Mr. Inness & Mr. Sanborn were here last month, Let Cooper²⁷ too, spent part of his time with us. Loulie [McHenry] left last Sat Week. I miss her so much. Poor Dr. Newell was treated in the most inhuman manner by the Yanks last Wed week. Had I not seen them dragging him on his knees I would not have believed it—but I saw with my own eyes. He remained insensible as we afterwards heard until he had nearly reached Chambersburg. Such brutality cannot go unpunished. I've had several letters from Henry [Kyd Douglas] written whilst at Gettysburg. He has been taken to Baltimore. Mrs. Hassel gave a party last night to Mrs. Gen. Smith. There goes the stage. I wish I was on it leaving here forever. I know it is unnatural not to have some affection for your birthplace but every spark of attachment has been crushed out. Sallie Rs friend Alice Ford²⁸ arrived last night. Emma Brent is in town. Mrs. Snowden, Mrs. Brent, & Ida did so much for the wounded until their pass was revoked. Oh how many things these wretches will have to answer for. Poor Young Blakistone's²⁹ death & other scores without number. Oh that the hour of deliverance was at hand.

Tuesday Night Aug 25.

I've learned something new today—for the first time in my life I've had to work & got along very well. Nancy & Harriet³⁰ left Sunday night

²⁵ Wounded Confederate soldiers left behind by the retreating armies and taken prisoners by the Federals.

²⁶ Mrs. Hamilton was the former Clara Ferness of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She had married William Tiffany Hamilton of Hagerstown, a Democrat, who served as governor of Maryland and representative and senator in Congress.

²⁷ Lehman Adams Cooper who married Nannie Kennedy of Hagerstown. After his wife's death Cooper moved to Texas.

²⁸ Sallie R. was the daughter of James Dixon and Louisa Roman. Her father was president of the Hagerstown bank. Alice Ford was from New York. Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

²⁹ S. H. Blackistone was a private in Company A, 1st Maryland Cavalry.

³⁰ Nancy and Harriet were slave girls. After a short stay in Pennsylvania they returned to Kealhofer's and remained until set free by the State. Nancy became the servant of Mrs. William Fell Giles, Jr. Mrs. Mary (Giles) Blunt writes that

for parts unknown & we've not yet been able to get anyone in their place. Sukey³¹ has remained faithful & Ma & I with Sukey & Nannie Diggs have done the work. Tomorrow we were to go to Fairview³² but from present appearances the party will be postponed—it has been raining all evening at intervals. We were shocked last night to hear of Mrs. Blackstone's death—another victim of this war. Will it ever end. Oh for quiet & peace once more. We did not appreciate the blessings of peace & it frightened & it took its flight—Heard from Loulie [McHenry] tonight. Margie [MacGill] is to be married in Oct.

Aug 30th

I did not go to church this morning Stayed home to take care of the house—We had a delightful day last Wed at Fairview & Friday a Party at Mrs. Roman's given to Miss Ford—it was a charming party & everyone enjoyed it. When evening came I felt very little like going, having just heard the MacGills³³ were to be sent South & other things—but I swallowed down my feelings & went. It does not seem a time for pleasure. I feel so anxious about things. Just now every thing seems dark—indeed since Jackson's death we had scarcely anything but reverses. I wish I could hear from some of my friends—but not one word can we hear. No one knows how this war affects me. It is never off my mind. I heard from Nan last night. She has been ill again & is going traveling. I should not think she is strong enough for a trip to Yonkers.

Monday Aug 31st/63

This morning Mrs. Swann, Alice MacGill, Mr. Brown & George Julius were sent to Balt—the two former on their way South. I had a pass & went to see them last evening.

"She was an honored member of our family, a really remarkable woman—She returned to Hagerstown with my sister and me after our mother's death. She is buried in our family lot." Mrs. Harry W. Blunt, Jr. to Fletcher M. Green, March 26, 1943.

³¹ Sukey also a slave girl.

³² Fairview was the home of Dr. William S. Pittenger on North Mountain about fourteen miles from Hagerstown on the road to Cumberland. It has a fine view of the Valley and the Potomac and was a favorite spot for picnics and parties.

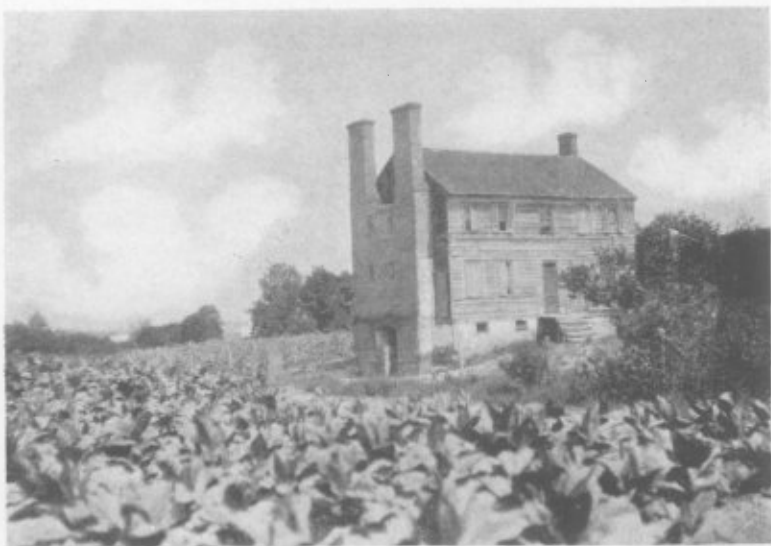
³³ This was the family of Dr. Charles MacGill, Sr. Born in Hagerstown and a graduate of the Medical College of the University of Maryland, MacGill was a noted physician and public spirited citizen. He helped to establish the Hagerstown *Mail* and was a Van Buren elector in 1840. For his sympathy with the Confederacy he was arrested by Captain Waltmeyer on September 30, 1861. Dr. MacGill started up-stairs to see his wife who was ill. Several enlisted men seized him, two of whom the Doctor knocked down the stairway. His son Dr. Charles, Jr., came to his aid and received a sabre cut on his cheek. His daughter Alice then came to his aid with a horsewhip. MacGill was imprisoned for about a year and then released. When General Lee invaded Maryland in 1862, Dr. MacGill established a Confederate hospital in Hagerstown. When Lee withdrew he went to Richmond and was appointed a surgeon in the Confederate army. When the Federals returned to Hagerstown after Gettysburg they banished the entire MacGill family to the South and confiscated all their possessions.



PORT TOBACCO IN 1930

View looking Northeast toward High Street. Few of these buildings remain today.

Courtesy The Sun, Baltimore.



TOBACCO FIELDS SURROUND THE OLD COMPTON HOME, 1930

The house is now the property of Mrs. Alice L. Ferguson of Washington, D. C., who has completely restored it.

Courtesy C. & P. Transmitter through Mr. Oliver Martin.

PORT TOBACCO, LOST TOWN OF MARYLAND

By ETHEL ROBY HAYDEN

In a valley near the point where the Potomac River bends around the lower end of Charles County lies the site of Port Tobacco, for over two centuries the county seat of Charles County, and one of the most important of early Maryland little towns. A few houses remain, and here and there by scraping an inch of soil, one may uncover an ancient brick sidewalk; but mostly now the corn and tobacco fields cover the place where the town flourished.

The early history of Port Tobacco antedates Charles County by at least sixteen years.¹ About the year 1639, Father Andrew White, from the Jesuit mission at St. Mary's, converted to Christianity the Queen of the Potopaco Indians and 130 of her subjects. The Indians provided one of the largest wigwams for the priest, and while his journeys over the river ways among the Indians were frequent, the little Potopaco village was his home for the greater part of his stay in Maryland. Here he was joined in 1640 by Father Roger Rigbie, who wrote his superiors in England that they hoped to build a residence in Potopaco for it was more protected than Piscataway from the warring Susquehannocks and Senecas of the north.² In the long evenings, by the light of a candle, Father White composed a catechism in the native dialect and compiled a grammar and dictionary in the Indian language.³ This was before Eliot wrote his Indian Bible, so from Port Tobacco came the first English work on Indian philology in the new world.

¹ Much of the information in this paper has been drawn from Volumes VIII, LIII and LX, of the *Archives of Maryland*, especially the last two, which contain the early court records of Charles County.

² *Woodstock Letters*, LX, 343 *et seq.* See also Bernard U. Campbell, "Early Christian Missions among the Indians of Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1:293-316 (1906).

³ J. C. Pilling, *Proof Sheets of a Bibliography of the Languages of the North American Indians* (1885).

We often read that the name comes from the fact that the town was a port from which tobacco was shipped to England; but the spellings in earliest documents show that the name was certainly a corruption of the Indian "Potopaco."⁴ It was spelled Potobag, Potopace, Potobac, Potobacke and other ways phonetically; the searcher becomes convinced that though Charles County owes much to tobacco, it was the red man and not the weed who gave a name to its most cherished town—a name which has stuck through the years with amusing persistency.

Early in the 17th century Job Chandler owned lands on the creek and in State documents the village was called Chandlers-town. Then the Assembly erected a town to be called Charles-town. First this town was to be laid off "in His Lordship's forest nigh Humphrey Warren's plantation on the Wiccomoco River," but nothing was done about it and the Assembly decided that Charlestown should be "at the court house at the head of Port Tobacco creek" but that "lot holders in the old Chandler's town shall retain their lots." Years later the Assembly again decided that the name Charlestown should be changed to Port Tobacco. All this was effected only on paper and meant not a thing to anybody. Throughout the years of the Assembly's decisions the town continued to be known as Port Tobacco.

Charles County has two distinct periods of history; that of the old Charles County and the Charles County of the present day. Old Charles County came into formal existence on November 2, 1650. In the winter of that year Robert Brooke arrived in Maryland with his second wife, 10 children, 28 servants and a commission dated London, September 20, 1649, making him commander of a county to be newly erected and called Charles. He also held a commission as a member of the Council of Maryland. Lands were surveyed, boundaries set and on November 2, 1650, the first Charles County came into being. Mr. Brooke agreed to bring more colonists to the new county at his own expense, and he commissioned his son, Baker Brooke, as commander thereof. After a few years the new county failed to work out in accord with the financial expectations of the Governor and Council and it was abolished.

On April 15, 1658, the new Charles County was erected. Court

⁴ A jutting of the water inland; a bay—Schoolcraft.

at first was held in inns and private houses in or near Port Tobacco and later the village became the established county seat. Soon it began to take on the air of an English village. The entire population of Charles County is estimated to have been only 800 in 1658, increasing to 1500 by 1665.⁵ The settlers must have been contracted largely in and around Port Tobacco, for the court records of that period and a few years afterward give the names of 30 or more householders in the town. Some of those mentioned in these records are Job Chandler; John Jenkins; William Robinson, carpenter; Henerie Moore; Robert Sly, merchant; Edward Parks; Henry Adams; George Thompson; Zachery Wade; Thomas Maris; Edmund Lindsey; Robert Troop; John Neuill; Thomas Hussey; Danell Gordion, constable; Robert Taylor; Simon Oursees; Joseph Harrison; Clemont Theobold; John Scherman; Francis Wine, cooper; Henry Mees; James and Robert Littlepage; Abraham Rouse; John Pain; Philip Bourne, merchant; Gils Glour, merchant; John Rowley; John Roberts and George English. There must have been other families whose names did not get into the court records.

There were two churches at or near Port Tobacco at the time, the Catholic church on the creek and the English church. Father Thomas Copley built a small house and a church on the creek about this time. The Rev. Mr. William Pusey Painter says Port Tobacco is the mother parish of Charles County and that the church there was standing as early as 1683, called Christ Church, of which the Rev. Mr. Moore was the first pastor.⁶ The church of which Mr. Painter speaks was already old in 1683 and stood on the west side of the creek. The Rev. Mr. Doughtie is often met with in records and has been mentioned as the first Episcopal pastor in Port Tobacco. He probably lived in Port Tobacco for a time, but it is unlikely he had a church there. He was none too savory a figure and doubtless had no connection with the Church of England. He is recorded as performing some ministerial duties, but to what sect he belonged has never been satisfactorily determined.

The town was built first on the west side of the creek and later drifted to the east side. The change may have been made be-

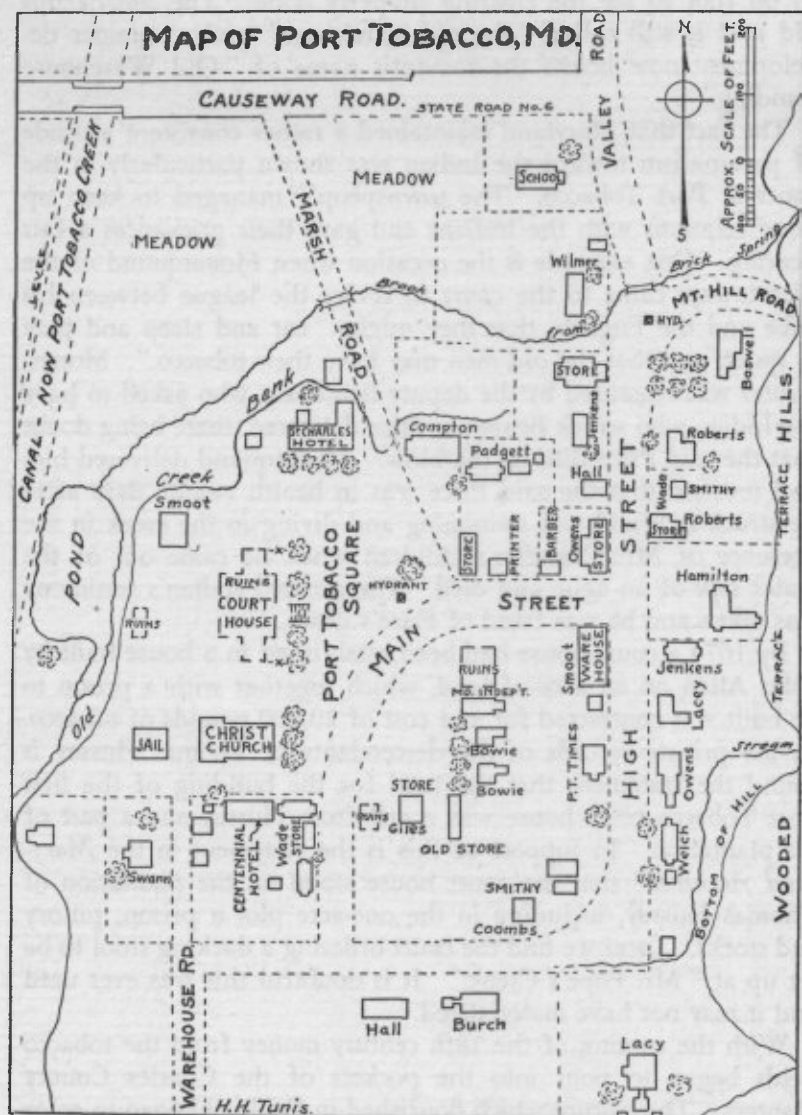
⁵ Introduction to the *Archives*, LIII, p. lxvii.

⁶ History of Durham Parish, Charles County (1894).

cause of the behavior of the waters and the erosion of the hills. Old Christ church had a grave yard on the west side which is now inundated. The tops of the stones were visible fifty years ago. An excavation of these old grave stones might well repay the student of Charles County history. Here may be the grave of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, for which historians have long made fruitless search. A case for it is built up by a recent statement that he is believed to have been buried in Charleston, S. C. The Maryland Historical Society has a letter from one Lt. Col. Jenifer, dated "Charles Town," Sept. 10, 1829. Its content shows that it was written from Port Tobacco, so the Jenifers must have used the Assembly name. Their plantation was but two miles away, they were Episcopalians and would naturally have been buried in Christ Church grave yard. This assumption must await the uncovering of the old stones in the marsh.

Even the court records of these early days convince us that life in Port Tobacco was by no means dull. The townspeople traded and visited, sang and prayed; slandered their neighbors and got haled into court for it; they played on the cittern, a sort of guitar, hunted and fished in the streams and river, and for the bounty the county offered, they shot the wolves that threatened their door yards. The price of a wolf's head was 100 pounds of tobacco and the public records oftentimes show bounties for three and four wolves at a time to one man. Port Tobacco handled its wolf problem with more wisdom than did Paris. Along the river there were pirates and rumors of pirates. The creek was wide and the ships sailed up to the edge of the town, bringing merchandise from England and sometimes strange foreign figures to create a sensation in the streets and inns; for Port Tobacco was "one of the ports set aside for the discharging and unloading of goods and merchandise out of ships, boats and other vessels," and odd cargoes drifted in from the strange ports of the world.

Down the creek "on Neal's land" to the southwest of the town, was the Naval Port of Entry where the goods were weighed and marked and the ships were loaded with the hogsheads of tobacco and sailed out to England. One may imagine a busy scene at the time of sailing, the hogsheads brought in boats and barges or rolled over the trails and the dusty paths which served as roads. Later they were hauled in ox-carts by the slaves and sometimes by Indians—the planter himself along on horseback



Drawn by Howard H. Tunis from sketch representing Port Tobacco about 1894 furnished by R. G. Barbour of Charles County, former resident of the town.

or on foot to see the clearing properly done. The site of this old port is still called "the old warehouse" and a summer development now boasts the romantic name of "Old Warehouse Landing."

The fact that Maryland maintained a rather consistent attitude of paternalism toward the Indian was shown particularly in the court at Port Tobacco. The townspeople managed to keep up good relations with the Indians and gave their grievances a fair hearing. One example is the occasion when Monatquund of the Piscataways came to the court to revive the league between his tribe and the English, that they might "eat and sleep and play in quiet, and that the old men may have their tobacco." Monatquund was reassured by the deputy lieutenant who asked to have the Indian who struck Benjamin Price delivered, there being doubt that the said Price died of the blow. Monatquund delivered him and testified that the said Price was in health twenty days after he struck him and was swimming and diving in the creek in the presence of Mr. Chandler's children when he came out of the water sick of an ague and died. The accused Indian's testimony was taken and he was freed of Price's death.

By 1674 a court house had been established in a house built by John Allen on an acre of land, which together with a prison to be built was contracted for at a cost of 20,000 pounds of tobacco. In the private records of the descendants of Thomas Hussey is found the statement that the land for the building of the first Port Tobacco court house was a gift from Hussey and a part of his plantation. In support of this is the statement in the *Maryland Archives*⁷ that the court house stood on the plantation of Thomas Hussey, including in the one-acre plot a prison, pillory and stocks. Later we find the court ordering a ducking stool to be set up at "Mr. Pope's Creek." It is doubtful this was ever used and it may not have materialized.

With the coming of the 18th century money from the tobacco fields began to pour into the pockets of the Charles County planters. The culture which flourished in England began to color life in the Colony. Mansions topped the hills which overlooked Port Tobacco and in the town the more primitive houses were being replaced by dwellings of pretensions. Townsmen, growing

⁷ Vol. VIII, p. 24-26.

thoughtful of their safety, appealed to the Assembly to have wooden chimneys abandoned, and "wattling fences" within the town were frowned upon.⁸

In 1740 when Governor Ogle, under Royal instruction, ordered a call to arms for the so-called "expedition against Cartagena" the town resounded with the fife and drum of the recruiting officer. Port Tobacco sent some men, we know, and though history is all too silent on Maryland's part in that expedition, it has supplied the name of at least one officer from Port Tobacco, Captain William Chandler.

As the community grew rich and ambitious, the sons, and sometimes the daughters, of the wealthier families were sent to England to be educated, or, in the case of the Catholics to Belgium and France. In the autumn of 1752 Thomas Kean, the actor-manager who had been playing in Williamsburg, took his company to Port Tobacco where *The Beggar's Opera* was presented and likely the entire repertoire of the summer season at Annapolis. Old newspapers give the list as *Richard III*, Dryden's *Spanish Friar*, Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair* and several farces. Kean was an artist of some talent himself and he had drawn from the professional group of William Hallam to complete a creditable company. Dunlap says it was Hallam's original company that played in Port Tobacco, but Hornblow shows this to be a mistake, and that it was the Thomas Kean Company. Both historians, however, agree that the company met with much success and that Port Tobacco was a town of "wealth and consequence" and provided for the drama a reception equal to any in the colonies.⁹ It is regretted that no record exists to show in what house the plays were held. Port Tobacco and Marlboro, like Annapolis and Williamsburg, probably sent Negro servants early in the evening to hold the seats until time for the play to begin. They must have had a pleasant hour hustling through the town in the best starched manner to sit in the improvised theatres until the play was ready. It was the day of Peg Woffington and

⁸ A wattling fence is described as follows: "A ditch and low mud fence was cast up, on the top of which was drove in stakes 3 feet high and a foot asunder, between which was wove green branches of cedar as close as possible with the bushes outward"—Robert Honyman, *Colonial Panorama, 1775* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1939). When the cedar had been well dried by the summer suns these fences must have been anything but beautiful.

⁹ William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (N. Y., 1832). Arthur Hornblow, *History of the Theatre in America* (Phila., 1919).

David Garrick, a brilliant one for the London stage; and the intense interest of London society in the restored drama was reflected in the life across the sea.

In 1753 Christ Church was rebuilt of brick on its original site; and a few years later there was read in the Assembly a bill to empower the justices of Charles County to levy on the taxable inhabitants of Port Tobacco Parish for money to support an organist for the church. Mr. Gustavus Brown, a native of Scotland and a prominent member of the parish, offered to give an organ if the parish would support an organist. About the same time the account books of Father George Hunter, pastor of the church at St. Thomas Manor, show that he paid an organist twenty pounds a year, the organ having been bought in Philadelphia at a cost of fifty pounds. Thus church music was an early institution in Port Tobacco, and the fact duly came to the attention of the Assembly.¹⁰

In the years before the Revolution diarists provided us with a wealth of data. A half day's ride on horseback from Laidler's Ferry, travelers from the south often stayed a day or two at Port Tobacco before continuing up the Post Road to Philadelphia and New England. Dr. Robert Honyman describes a short stay in the town. His journal, now the property of the Huntington Library, says he reached Port Tobacco an hour before sunset on March 2, 1775.

When I got there I went out into a field by the town and saw a company of about 60 gentlemen learning the millitary exercise, and then I went and called on Mr. Francis Walker, whose relatives are my father's near neighbors in Scotland. I took him to my lodgings where he stayed with me all night. Port Tobacco is about as big as New Castle [Delaware] and is seated between hills at the top of Port Tobacco Creek, which two miles below falls into the Potomac, and only carries small craft now. There are six stores in the place, four of them Scotch. Near the town is a Roman Catholic chapel, very elegant with fine house adjoining, where live four or five Jesuit priests. They have a fine estate of 10 000 acres and two or three hundred negroes [St. Thomas Manor]. There is also a very pretty church of free stone with an organ in it. There is also a warehouse for tobacco.

An interesting item of this account is mention of a free-stone church. This, of course, was Christ Church, though modern his-

¹⁰ *Archives of Maryland*, LVI, index: *Organist*.

torians say it was still of brick as late as the 19th century. The church was evidently new when Dr. Honyman saw it in 1775, and the same one of which this recent account is given: "Tradition has it that a building called Christ Church was removed and built on another site in Port Tobacco (probably the third or fourth building) in 1818. There is a record of its consecration by Bishop Kent on June 28, 1818. In 1884 this colonial church of brick was torn down and rebuilt of stone."¹¹ The confused years of the early republican period could well have delayed the consecration until 1818, but there is small doubt that this historian was wrong about the brick church in its final site on the east side of the creek.

Another diarist, Philip Vickers Fithian, describes Port Tobacco at some length about this time, but his account is none too rosy. He was on his way home to New Jersey from Nomini Hall on the Virginia side of the Potomac and says there was some epidemic raging in town, of which many had died. He was kept awake, he says, by slamming shutters at Mrs. Halkinson's Inn. He thought the houses were mostly one story buildings. We know from other records that this was not the case. Fithian was probably tired. He had a long journey ahead of him, we know that he was in love at the time, so he may have been able to see no good in anything which kept him from his destination. In fact, Port Tobacco at the close of the Revolution was absorbing sophistication like a sponge. Far from the scenes of battle, there were often young French and Continental officers in town.

A significant letter showing the social life of the time is owned by the Mitchell family of Hanson Hill, Charles County, a copy of which is preserved in the Maryland Historical Society. It is from James Craik, Jr. (probably a son of Dr. James Craik, surgeon general of the Continental Army), to his friend Walter Stone of the "Financier's Office," Philadelphia:

Strawberry hill July 2, 1782 .

My dear Friend:

Since my Last nothing but Mirth and Gaity has attracted the attention of the Polite Circle of Porttobacco, having Diverted themselves of thier former ceremony now suffer Friendship and Familiarity to reign with Proper Energy which I'll assure you renders it the most agreeable Circle I

¹¹ *Inventory of Church Archives in the District of Columbia*. (Washington, 1940), p. 123.

know Philad^a. not excepted—we have had a great Ball at the Widow Furry's about a Fortnight ago, which consisted of thirty-two Ladies and six Gentlemen a very great Disproportion, the Mortification of the poor Little Girls exceeded anything I ever saw, they could scarcely reconcile Dancing with each other, notwithstanding their propensity to that amusement, there was none of our family there except Miss Ewell, the old woman was greatly disappointed as she prepared a supper for twice the number. I have just returned from Virginia where I spent the Last Week very agreeably as we had a great race at Coalchester on Thursday and an Elegant Ball in the Evening (Given by our Friend Greason) where I had the pleasure of seeing the Beautiful Miss Blackburn & Miss Scott with all the Dumfreice Belles—we have had no marriages since I came home nor any prospect of any except Mr. Redgates & Miss Betsy King which I think will come to pass very soon, the Little alderman during her illness regularly paid her a visit every morning & Evening to comfort her & advise her to bear it with Christian fortitude—poor Watt H—— is very industriously seeking for a companion but finds one very difficult to be met with, though he says he is determined to have one against the fall—I am sorry to inform you that Miss Lee has been confined to her room these two weeks past with Sore Eyes a Disease which has been Epedemical here since my arrival here—I have not had the pleasure of seeing your Brother Michael yet as he has been at the Assembly ever since I left you tho I expect to see him this week as he just come home, your Sister was here a few Days since in perfect health & very Lovely—if you have not yet Purchased the Cloth for my Coat I will be obliged to you not to get it of this Color as I have one like it already & if you cannot purchase the Tambored Jacket & B—— you may get me enough of any pretty silk for a pattern & send it by the first opportunity tho I should prefer the former if cheap, let the cloth be of light colour—pray write me by the next post as I am very impatient to hear from you tell Mifflin I shall write him by the next post, inform me where Billy is as I have not yet heard from him give my Comp^s. to Miss Bond, Delany & Miller & all my acquaintances, & I am w^t usual esteem your affec. Friend

James Craik Jun^r

PS Dolly Desires me not to forget to present her Love to you & is impatient to see you once more at Porttobacco.

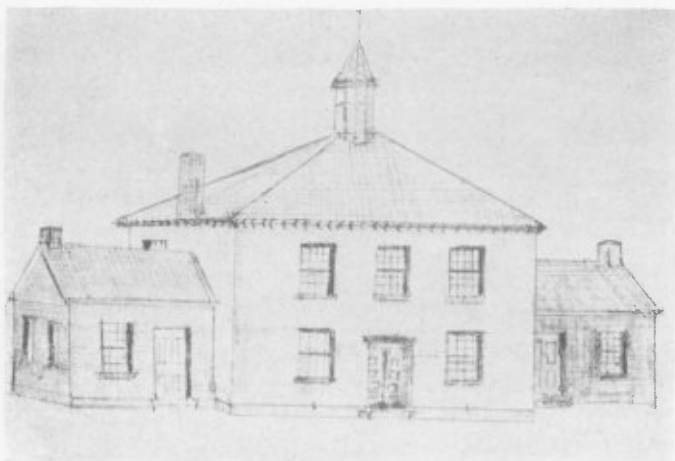
[Endorsed:]

Dr. James Craik, Junr

July 2d 1782 Rec'd

& answered July 9th, 1782

Parties like the "great ball at the widow Furry's" were not unusual for the town made much of its inns, and from very early times there is record of entertaining in these public places. Not that hospitality was less in private homes, but the townspeople were friendly and eager for association with the passing stranger;



CHARLES COUNTY COURT HOUSE, PORT TOBACCO

From a sketch by Mr. R. G. Barbour.



THE LEADING HOTEL, ON PORT TOBACCO SQUARE

It boasted a dining room capable of seating 200 persons, a breakfast room, double parlor, card room and two bars, in addition to 25 large guest rooms.

From a sketch by Mr. R. G. Barbour.

and many worth while persons were to be met in the hostleries. It was an interesting day in town when George Washington dined at the Inn on "baked sheep's head, right out of the river," or John Randolph of Roanoke, followed by his hunting hounds, strode the streets, protesting the second war with England. There was no telling when a celebrity might descend from the stage coach coming in from Annapolis over the Post Road and the town turned out at its noisy approach.

Writing of a tour of the United States, J. F. D. Smyth¹² says that the site of St. Thomas' Manor, "just by Port Tobacco is the most beautiful place and the most elegant situation in the world"; and though this is extreme praise, the Port Tobacco valley was and still is always a delight to English visitors, no doubt because it looks so like the English countryside. In 1784 it likely was very beautiful. On the hill at the south of the town is "Chandler's Hope," the home of William and Ann Neal; the house still stands, as does "Rose Hill" to the west. Built by Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown, son of the first Dr. Gustavus Brown of "Rich Hill," "Rose Hill" is of brick overlaid with weatherboarding and has great chimneys at either end overlooking an elaborate boxwood garden.

Dr. Brown, beside being a judge and legislator, was a distinguished physician and his dissecting room in the basement at "Rose Hill," where he worked with a few medical students, was a mysterious region sending forth tall tales to chill the spines of local gossips. In the *Maryland Gazette* of September 17, 1789, appears this notice:

A young gentleman inclined to study medicine, and qualified for the purpose, will be received on reasonable terms by

Dr. Gustavus Brown
Port Tobacco.

He was a friend and frequent visitor at Mount Vernon, and, with Dr. Craik of LaGrange, was called to Washington's bedside the night that he died. Dr. Dick of Alexandria, was also in consultation and advised against bleeding, but Dr. Craik, prone to use the lancet freely, had overruled Dr. Dick, and when Dr. Brown reached the bedside, Washington had been bled. After Washington died Dr. Brown wrote to Dr. Craik that he was

¹² *A Tour of the United States of America* (London, 1784), II, 180.

now convinced that Dr. Dick was right and had his judgment been taken Washington might have been saved.¹³

To the south of "Rose Hill" was the home of John Hanson, "Mulberry Grove," less pretentious—its distinguished owner was a quiet man. He is called sometimes the first president of the United States, a title none too valid; he was president of the last Continental Congress and one of the earliest organizers of the machinery set up for American freedom.

With the 19th century the town settled in its final place on the east side of the creek and began to take an orderly pattern which was to attain its point of highest development as a local social and political center. Inns and ordinaries gave way to hotels; the St. Charles boasted 25 large bed rooms with dining room seating 200 people, breakfast room, card room, double parlors, kitchen and proprietor's suite with living and bed rooms and servants' quarters. Surrounded by great aspens, it lent dignity to the town square. Throughout the town stood homes solid and comfortable, their paneled rooms furnished with mahogany and black walnut. Lilies and roses from the gardens nodded in their Sèvres vases, over the five o'clock tea tables. Afternoon tea was a ceremony in Port Tobacco; and when the days grew busier in the lean years after the war, the ceremony was extended to the early supper. Even to-day Charles Countians may ask a guest to "tea" when they mean the last meal of the day.

Dinner was in the early afternoon, and many New Orleans dishes were favorites on the Port Tobacco tables. Two of the most popular of these were the rolled French omelet and stuffed ham. These dishes may have been introduced by some Gullah cook from down the coast. At all events they took fast hold of the Charles County appetite. Stuffed ham, an Easter treat, is ignored in Baltimore and nearly unknown farther north, but for the Charles Countian it is a sorry Easter table where the red and green dish is not.¹⁴

¹³ John T. Howard, "The Doctors Gustavus Brown," in *Annals of Medical History*, n.s., 9: 446 (Sept. 1937).

¹⁴ The ham is set to boil while a peck or so of greens, usually land cress and kale or tender young cabbage sprouts, with a touch of green garlic leaves, is chopped fine, and sprinkled with salt and pepper. When the ham is half done it is taken up and the chopped green is wilted in the boiling ham water, then squeezed tightly together and stuffed into incisions cut knife-wide to the bone of the half done ham, which is now put into a cotton bag and back in the boiler to finish cooking. When cold the slices are striped in a red and green delight.

Cool springs in the hills to the east furnished the town with water, piped into hydrants. A curious item appears in an issue of the *Maryland Gazette* of 1850 which says: "Port Tobacco is celebrated for its cold waters of Mt. Misery." What Mt. Misery was is not now known.

In 1848 Port Tobacco printed its first weekly newspaper, *The Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser*. Elijah Wells, Jr., was its publisher and printer. It remained a local institution as *The Port Tobacco Times* until it was absorbed in 1898 by *The Times-Crescent*, a step which signalized the fall of Port Tobacco and the rise of La Plata.

On November 14th and 15th, 1848, the first Agricultural Fair of the Charles County Agricultural Society was held at Port Tobacco. The farmers exhibited their stock and their crops, vegetables and fruits, the housewives their butter, bread, home-made soap, quilts and handwoven cloth. Mr. Charles H. Drury of Baltimore, exhibited a horse-power thrasher and other farm implements. The Hon. John G. Chapman made an address on the occasion, a copy of which, in booklet form, provides a fund of early agricultural data, as well as being a rare Port Tobacco imprint. At that time the lighter vehicles such as the carriage and the buggy, were not in general use by the country people. The great coaches were decaying in the stable buildings and most of the local travel was done on horseback, and the horse was a particular feature of these two autumn days of the first Charles County Fair. The committee reported the premium for the best saddle horse "was well contested for by Mr. George Dent and Mr. Charles A. Pye, but John Logan's pretensions were such that your committee could not overlook." The best mare for general purpose was a close tie between Mr. John Hamilton's "Queen of Clubs" and Col. William Thompson's "Lilly," but Mr. Marion Wallace's nag, not named, carried off the prize.

Letters of that time complain of the high prices in Port Tobacco. One housewife must send to Alexandria for paint to re-do her chairs, "as it is so high here at home," and a Baltimore visitor was clamorous because he had to pay 35 cents for a hair cut when he only paid 25 cents in the barber shops in Baltimore. Port Tobacco was never a manufacturing town like those in other counties, but had a vigorous retail trade with many stores for its

size. When the ships no longer brought the goods straight from England, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Alexandria became the markets, and merchandise came down over the waterways until after the middle of the 19th century when the Pennsylvania Railroad built its line to the Potomac.

When the Civil War came on and Maryland stayed within the Union, Port Tobacco, with all Charles County, was solidly behind General Lee. Details from both armies were occasionally encamped within a few miles of one another, sometimes on the same farm. When the Union drafted the planters the latter paid for substitutes. Those who did not cross the river and join Lee's army, went on pulling for the Confederacy.

The town enjoyed its intrigues, and up at "Rose Hill" grave doings went on. The Brown family had long passed away, and "Rose Hill" had come into possession of the Floyds, through their kinsman, Ignatius Semmes. Young Bob Floyd was with Lee's army, and Mrs. Floyd and Olivia (a black-eyed live-wire) were obliged to entertain Union officers who were billeted in the house and grounds. The young Olivia was in constant communication with the Army of Northern Virginia and many a night after the household was asleep she crept out in the dark, saddled her horse and galloped the rough miles to Laidler's Ferry with information or papers that must get through by blinker signal to Hooe's across the river. Back home by dawn, she was ready to amuse the *distinguished northern "guests"* at breakfast in the big dining room where her mother presided.

Rose Hill had a ghost; a huge blue dog which was supposed to guard a cache of gold hidden on the side of the hill when his pedler master was murdered one dark night of uncertain date. In her old age Miss Olivia liked to tell how the Negroes saw the dog come over the hill in a thundering cloud of smoke the day that Bob was killed. The bullet that killed Bob remained on the drawing room mantel, a grim souvenir, and the blue dog story is still alive today.

The girls of the town knitted and sewed and smuggled food to their men whenever they could, through the long four years until defeat was a stark certainty. Then on the morning of April 15, 1865, as the sun came over the hills, a detachment of soldiers from Hooper's Division marched into town with the news that

President Lincoln had been shot the night before and the assassin had crossed the Anacostia bridge heading for Southern Maryland. The town gasped. Only the night before at a local dance, a youth with too much to drink had boasted that "Abe Lincoln will be dead in the morning." There was doubtless nothing actually known of the tragedy but as the days went by and the soldiers searched the strange countryside, the neighing of Booth's horses in the nearby woods sounded a warning in every local ear.

The tragic excitement died down and Port Tobacco settled to the business of reconstruction. Prices in the stores which had been higher than in Baltimore and Alexandria now soared to heights unthinkable. Cotton and wool were hard to come by for the home weaver and calico was higher than silk had been formerly, sugar was 25 cents a pound; and the planter was sick with dismay when he must go into town to buy meat for his table. He, the country squire, whose fields and flocks had amply fed the slaves, the large family, the constant guest, must now go shopping for food like any poor white. He was no longer a self-supporting entity, his own hands must now provide him with a living. But most of them faced about with courage. The returned soldier gayly joked about starting life over with one old mule, the girls cooked and sewed and gathered about the square piano in the evening to sing sentimental ballads.

A modern novelist laid a scene in Port Tobacco and had her characters walk in the Duke of Gloucester St. and others of high sounding names. This was "bad properties" for old Port Tobacco, for the town was never pretentious. The streets were Causeway Road, Valley Road, High Street, Main Street, Marsh Road, Old Post Road and such serviceable names. The town square held the lovely old Christ Church, the brick Court House, the St. Charles and the Centennial hotels, a number of lesser buildings, and in a triangular space made by the intersection of Main Street and Marsh Road, the town hydrant. Lawyer's offices, newspaper offices and some stores faced the square. Some of the inns were pine paneled and the madeira and porter which passed over their polished counters enlivened a wit to match the best. Good talk was a cherished thing in Port Tobacco and many a local Dr. Johnson is still quoted in families with a background from those days.

Court days were special times. All the countryside came to town; the hotel dining rooms were filled, and for many years after the war, out on the square "Aunt Nancy Higdon" served farm dinners, fancy cakes, and buttermilk to the crowd in the streets. She cooked the food at home up in the "forest," took it to town in huge baskets where it was served with immaculate care from improvised trestle tables set up on the green for "Cote days."

Late in the century politics began to threaten the foundations of the old town. La Plata, three miles inland, was growing up and wanted the county seat. Its removal became a political issue with much bitterness attendant. Finally in 1892, the records were removed and one night the court house took fire and burned. Those opposed to the removal rent their garments and called names; but the court house was gone. Where would it be rebuilt? Feeling ran so high that the town itself was out of the question. As a compromise Chapel Point was agreed upon as the lesser of the evils. An election was called in June, 1895. La Plata won by a large majority and to the new village the court house went. Old Christ Church was taken down stone by stone and rebuilt in La Plata not far from the new court house. Business followed the court and residents followed business; the old houses came down one by one until now the streets and squares are corn and tobacco fields. The Dr. Neal house is preserved as the home of Mr. George Wade, a descendant of the first Zachary Wade. The old Padgett house and one other that has been recently restored by Mrs. Alice Ferguson, are all that remain of the original town. The little Baptist chapel was constructed in later years from a wing of the old court house. Even the old hydrants are gone and an artesian well gushes water for the thirsty traveler who comes to visit this deserted village where always it seems to be Sunday afternoon.

DISCOVERY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY, 1525-1573

By LOUIS DOW SCISCO

Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon, judge in the Spanish Indies at Santo Domingo, obtained a royal patent for colonizing the Carolina coast. His first move was to send forth his shipmaster Pedro de Quexos to search for harbors, and it was this shipmaster who discovered the Bahia de Santa Maria, a place the history of which is closely interlinked with the discovery of the Chesapeake Bay. The coastal exploration of Quexos was done in 1525. Although his voyage report is lost, his discoveries are reflected in the official map of Diego Ribero published in 1529 in Spain. In this map Cape Hatteras is recognizable as Cabo Traffalgar, and a little north of it is the Bahia de Santa Maria, a small broad-mouthed bay, more wide than deep, and fronted by petty islets. Apparently it was the modern Currituck Sound, with an inlet which had not yet been closed by the shifting sands. North of the bay Quexos saw beaches, but he seems to have gone no farther. There is no indication that he got as far as the Chesapeake entrance.

Ayllon made his settlement on the coast in 1526. When he died soon afterward the colony fell into dissension and broke up. John Gilmary Shea, writing in 1883 and in 1885, asserted that Ayllon's colony was in Virginia on the site where Jamestown later appeared, but he offered no reasons for his claim. More critical historians agree that the colony was in the Carolinas south of Cape Hatteras. Chesapeake Bay had not yet been found.

For many years after Ayllon's effort the Spaniards paid no attention to the Carolina region. All their colonizing energies in northern areas were given to New Spain (modern Mexico), where

they were rewarded by Aztec wealth and by the discovery of richly productive silver mines in Durango and Zacatecas. Suddenly, in 1560, came an alarming rumor that the French had found a way to reach the mines of New Spain.

As the story went, a French ship captain, nosing about in the region near Newfoundland, found an unknown passage and followed its course. His crew sailed 400 leagues more or less, until stopped by land. Going ashore here, the mariners found another salt-water passage beyond the barrier. They built four small vessels and sailed onward 300 leagues, stopping when they found a populous country with abundant food. They were now, they learned, due north of Mexico City, and by using boats they could have reached the Spanish mines of Zacatecas. However, they quarreled with their hosts just then and found it best to leave. They returned to the barrier, regained their ship, and got back to familiar Atlantic waters.

In New Spain this rumor caused some anxiety in official quarters. The colonial geographer Andres de Urdaneta was greatly interested and thought the rumor should be tested by exploration. Pedro Menendez de Aviles, commander of the transatlantic fleet, was at this time in New Spain, resting between voyages. He, too, was called into consultation. It was agreed that the viceroy should send out an exploring party and that Pedro Menendez should present the matter in Spain when he returned.

Just before this stir, in 1559, a shipmaster had arrived in New Spain bringing an Indian captive from a far region. This shipmaster, whose name is unrecorded, had made a stop on an unfamiliar mainland coast, and on coming away he had kidnapped the brother of the local chief. Apparently he reported his landfall as at Bahia de Santa Maria. This incident fell into place with the rumor of the new ship passage. The captive, thus brought from the northern latitudes near the passage, was promptly converted, was treated with consideration, and was baptized with the viceroy's own name, Luis de Velasco.

The intended exploring party was abandoned, but when Menendez sailed for Spain in 1561 he carried with him Don Luis the Indian. In Spain the Indian was brought to the royal court and for a time was the king's guest, but the story of the French ship passage seems not to have impressed those who governed and

nothing was done. In the end Don Luis became a retainer of Menendez in Spain and the ship passage seems to have been forgotten for a time.

Two years passed. Menendez had an only son, who had become a fleet commander assisting his father. In 1563, on his homeward voyage from the colonies, the son's ship disappeared near Bermuda. No one knew whether the ship foundered or was driven to land, and Menendez felt that perhaps his son was somewhere on the Florida mainland awaiting rescue. Probably it was at this time that Menendez turned again to Don Luis with queries about the continental coast. It is doubtful if Don Luis had any great command of Spanish speech as yet, but he seems to have been able to impart ideas. His home land was called Ahawken. (In Spanish usage that name became Ajacan or Axacan, or the short form Jacan.) Menendez believed that it was situated at Bahia de Santa Maria and in 37° latitude. This belief he now linked with the colonial tale of the French transcontinental passage. It seemed to him that Bahia de Santa Maria must lie close to the land barrier in the ship passage, and thus Ahawken or Axacan would be a strategic point commanding the new route from Europe to the trade of the Orient. So now Menendez formed the ambitious plan of becoming master of the Atlantic seaboard and of the new trade route to Asia.

In 1564 the Spanish government was no longer apathetic about mainland exploration, for reports had been coming in that the French were finding coastal bases from which they could prey upon Spanish traffic. Menendez filed a memorial in which he enlarged on the need for occupation of the Florida coast as defence against the French. In this paper also he told the story of the transcontinental ship passage, as he had heard it in New Spain. With little delay he received his desired patent. It gave him control of the mainland coast from Florida Keys to Terra Nova (Newfoundland). In September 1565 he landed his armed colonists at San Agustin. Very promptly he moved against the French colonists who had preceded him and wiped them out by capture and massacre. On October 15, just after the second massacre, he wrote a letter to Spain. In it he said that he intended to sail, in the coming spring, to Santa Elena (in modern South Carolina) and to erect there a fort for 300 soldiers. After that he would proceed to Bahia de Santa Maria and build there another fort,

leaving 200 men. He explains further about this second fort.

This must be the key to all the fortifications in this land, since, beyond here, as far as Terra Nova, there can be no occupation, because, to the north of this harbor, in the region within 80 leagues, would be found some mountains, and at the foot of them an arm of the sea which extends to Terra Nova and which may be navigable 600 leagues. This arm of the sea enters by Terra Nova and ends its course 80 leagues within the land of the Indian, which is this bay of Santa Maria which is in 37 degrees; and within a half-league there is another arm of salt water that goes into the land east-north-east [west-north-west] which, as is supposed, extends to the South Sea.

In this confusing geographic portrayal by Menendez one may dimly see; from the viewpoint of Don Luis, the length of the Chesapeake stretching to the foothills at the north, and the estuary of James River penetrating west-north-west into the land. To the mind of Menendez, however, it was the transcontinental passage leading in one direction to the Newfoundland region and in the other direction toward Zacatecas and the Pacific. And his new fort would keep the route safely under Spanish control.

Before the spring came, Menendez visited Havana and there talked with Andres de Urdaneta, who was passing through. The geographer evidently confirmed him in his plans, for in January one of Menendez' letters said, "If I am able I will send a captain with the Indian to the Bahia de Santa Maria, so that by the sight of his own eyes he may see this arm of the sea." In 1566, about August, an exploration party went forth. It was made up of soldiers and Dominican friars, with Don Luis as guide. But neither soldiers nor friars had any liking for their task. They fixed up an understanding with their pilot and sailed happily for Spain, explaining later that on account of bad winds they were quite unable to reach their goal at Santa Maria.

Now that the French menace had been disposed of, governmental apathy closed in on Menendez and his work. The northern fort was not again attempted. Menendez sadly needed help. He complained that he had to feed the garrisons with food intended for his colonists, and to pay soldiers from his own purse instead of promised government funds. No French had ever raided Zacatecas and perhaps Menendez now had doubts about the supposed northern passage.

When next the Bahia de Santa Maria became an objective the purpose was religious. Dominicans had carried Don Luis away to

Spain and the same order of friars brought him back to Havana, intending to use him in mission effort, but their project fell through. The Jesuits now took the Indian in charge and planned a mission to Axacan. In September, 1570, the mission party was ready. They were offered a guard of soldiers, but the mission head refused it. He said that the example set by soldiers usually was not such as encouraged piety among native converts. The missionaries were carried northward to the home land of Don Luis and their vessel returned to its base.

The Axacan mission, as it is called, was short lived. Don Luis helped the missionaries to find a location and then he deserted them five days later. Without him they could not talk with his people. In some way they managed to get along through the winter of 1570-71 until February, and then they tried to win back Don Luis to their service. The immediate result was that Don Luis and his fellows murdered every member of the mission except a boy that was with them. A little too late came a supply ship for the missionaries and hurriedly returned to its base with news of disaster.

In 1572 Pedro Menendez came at last to Axacan in person, bringing a guard of soldiers. Making contact with the natives, he rescued the mission boy and learned what had occurred. Afterward he identified eight of the killers and hanged them, but Don Luis escaped capture by flight. Menendez did not arrange for a fort, and nothing is said in current documents of any search for the ship passage by him.

The geographical position of Axacan is not revealed by the Jesuit letters which tell the story of the mission, nor do they mention the Bahia de Santa Maria. One letter is dated at Bahia de Madre de Dios, but with no explanation of the name. Such documents as may be cited for the location of Axacan bear dates many years later. Some fifteen years after the mission fiasco, English colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh established themselves at the edge of Pamlico Sound. In 1600 a deposition made in Florida by one David Glavin states that he had been one of Raleigh's colonists and that the place where they settled was at Jacan in 36° latitude. Again, in 1606, the treasurer of Florida wrote that his brother, while in Spain, gave out information about Bahia de Santa Madre de Dios, together with such news as he had about the English colony there. The Axacan region, then, was at Pamlico Sound or thereabouts, and was at or near to 36°

latitude. The Chesapeake Bay was still unknown to Pedro Menendez and his men.

Whether Pedro Menendez at his visit in 1572 was still interested in the ship-passage story is not clear, but it is certain that he at once planned for a re-survey of the mainland coast. In November he was again in Spain, where he shortly obtained a grant of the Gulf coast, extending his control from Tampico, in Mexico, to Newfoundland. From Spain he sent his nephew Pedro Menendez Marques to Florida in 1573 to explore along the Atlantic seaboard.

Marques began his survey work at the Florida Keys and moved from there northward, re-checking well-known harbors and looking for new ones. Such account of his voyage as survives is due to the chronicler Barcia. Coming up the coast to Cape Hatteras the explorer noted the change in coastal trend there, as other explorers had done before him. Beyond the cape he noticed several inlets, "one of them very good." Quexos, too, had noticed one here in 1525 and had called it Bahia de Santa Maria. Seven leagues beyond the good inlet Marques came to a broad opening, and this, he decided, was the Bahia de Santa Maria. He figured it as being at $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude, making the error, usual to mariners in his time, of getting his latitude too high. He had really found the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, through which exactly runs the parallel of 37° latitude. How far Marques went in examination of the Bay is not told by Barcia. Only his phrase "many rivers and harbors" reveals that he did anything of the sort. Barcia's text deals only with the Bay entrance.

. . . the harbor and bay of Santa Maria, which is three leagues wide, wherein one enters to the north-northwest; and within it there are many rivers and harbors where one may anchor by either shore. At the entrance, near the land on the south side, there are nine to thirteen fathoms of depth, and at the north side are five to seven. Two leagues out to sea there is the same depth to the south and to the north, and more sandy than within; and going in by the channel from nine fathoms to thirteen; and within the port, by fifteen and sixteen fathoms, he found places where the lead did not come to rest.

Marques must certainly have recognized the potential value of his new-found bay, but it was a treasure that could not be used. It lay outside of the Spanish ship lanes and it was too far from any colonial base to be used in normal expansion. The news of its discovery was buried in secrecy, perhaps purposely, or perhaps

by mere neglect. No one seems to have been interested in a possible transcontinental passage. Pedro Menendez, who might have been interested, was in Spain when Marques made his voyage, and a year later, in September 1574, he died there, carried off by a very brief illness.

When knowledge of the Chesapeake finally reached the European public it came through English channels instead of Spanish. Sir Walter Raleigh's colonists came in 1585 to settle at Pamlico Sound. In the spring of 1586 the colony governor held prisoner for a time an Indian chief whom the governor questioned about the geography of the country about. From him the governor learned that a large bay lay to the northward of the colony. On an island of this bay lived an important chief who possessed quantities of pearls obtained from nearby waters. The island could be reached by ascending the Chowan River three days and then marching overland northeasterly four days. The governor, pearl conscious, planned to investigate. He decided to send a bark by sea to find the island, while a land force would move up the Chowan and overland toward the same objective. Before this plan could be executed, however, the whole colony departed for England and the Chesapeake went unvisited.

The returning colonists brought back with them to England a chart of the colonial region made by Ralph White. On its northern edge was represented the reported bay. White had placed the bay entrance in the right position, but the outline of his bay bore no resemblance whatever to that of the real Chesapeake. Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, was greatly interested in this new feature. He wrote to Raleigh urging that if colonization were renewed an effort should be made to occupy at the new bay instead of at the former site. It probably was Hakluyt who furnished a copy of the White chart to Theodore De Bry when the latter published a volume of travels in 1590 at Frankfort. De Bry put the chart into print with the new bay marked "*Chesepiocr sinus*." Thus the world learned at last that Chesapeake Bay existed. Even then its actual extent was not known until Captain John Smith made his tour of its waters.

Pedro Menendez Marques, real discoverer of the Chesapeake, has been much cheated of fame by the unfortunate error that has credited the Axacan missionaries with prior occupation of the Bay region. The error began with Robert Greenhow of Washington,

who wrote about the matter in 1848. Heeding the basic facts that Chesapeake Bay actually is at 37° latitude and that Pedro Menendez had declared Axacan to be at 37°, Greenhow naturally supposed the Axacan mission to have been at the bay. It was so reasonable that other writers followed his lead without question. The writer who most publicized the mission was John Gilmary Shea of New York, who not only accepted Greenhow's view but labored to find a specific location for the mission site. In his earlier comment in 1859 he thought that the mission was "probably near the head of the Bay." Later he came to think that the name Occoquan was a modern form of the name Axacan. In 1872, therefore, he argued that the missionaries sailed up the Potomac River to Occoquan, and from there were led overland to a site on the Rappahannock. This view he reiterated in various writings. Once, in 1875 he narrowed it to the district about Fredericksburg. In 1883 there was a published suggestion by Professor A. L. Guss that the North East River in Cecil County was the logical place for the Axacan mission. In 1907 James Mooney of the Smithsonian Institution casually guessed that the mission was on lower James River. On this point Spanish sources give little help. The documents on the Raleigh colony are entirely silent about the mission, for Raleigh's patent authorized settlement only in regions not previously occupied by other nations.

The Menendez family was native to the Asturias region in Spain, and Pedro Menendez Marques was born in the Asturias about 1528. He is repeatedly described as a nephew of Pedro Menendez, but his parents are curiously unmentioned. Sometime in early life he entered on a seafaring career. By 1557 he had reached command of a vessel. In that year he was captured in a sea-fight with the French and was kept in France for some time as a prisoner. When Pedro Menendez lost his only son in 1563 his nephew seems to have succeeded to the son's place at Menendez' right hand. Marques aided his uncle in preparing the Florida expedition of 1565, and when Menendez went to Florida it was Marques who took the supply ships to Havana, the supply base for the Florida venture. From Havana, in 1567, Marques sailed against hostile tribesmen of southwestern Florida. At Charlotte Harbor he seized and beheaded the treacherous chief Don Carlos, and at Tampa Bay he installed a garrison to maintain peace. Again, in 1568, he sailed from Havana to beat back

Indians who were besieging a garrison near modern Miami. In 1569 Pedro Menendez made him his deputy-governor over the Florida settlements.

In his colonizing efforts the elder Menendez was bothered by lack of co-operation on the part of the Cuban governor. This he remedied in 1570 by getting himself appointed governor of Cuba, where he installed Marques as deputy-governor for both Cuba and Florida. As executive it fell to Marques to expedite the Jesuit mission to Axacan in the fall of 1570. The doubled duties of Marques as acting governor did not last long. Menendez brought a new governor to Florida in 1571 and Marques was relieved also of his Cuban office in early 1572. He now returned to Spain with his wife and went to visit his old home in Asturias. A suspicious revenue official took occasion to describe him as he arrived in Spain at this time. "He is the manager of everything and very keen witted. He is of medium height, heavy, thickset, has a black beard, and is about 44 years old, more or less."

Marques did not remain long unoccupied. Early in 1573 he was in Madrid giving testimony about Indian hostilities in Florida. When this was over, he sailed for Havana, and from there made his survey of the continental coast which ended in discovery of the Chesapeake. In 1574 he received a naval command for service in the West Indies, cruising against corsairs who were preying upon Spanish commerce. He spent three years in this work.

Meanwhile Pedro Menendez died in Spain in 1574. Some time before his death Menendez had obtained a royal grant of the Gulf coast area from Florida westward to Tampico in Mexico. By his will he bequeathed his rights in this area to Marques. It was a gift more magnificent than he knew, for, unknown to both of them, it carried legal ownership of the Mississippi River and the vast basin of the Mississippi. Marques apparently made no effort to occupy his legacy and his rights soon lapsed.

As the year 1576 was closing, Marques and his nine ships came into port at Seville. Almost immediately he was appointed commander of the outgoing transatlantic fleet, but before his sailing time his superiors had another thought and made him governor of Florida. On July 1, 1577, he reached the colony and took control. Some biographers assert that he was made *adelantado* of Florida at this time, but they are in error, confusing him with his kinsman Pedro Menendez 2nd. For several years Marques ruled

Florida vigorously. Forts were put in order, negro slaves were brought in, troublesome tribesmen were forced to submission, corsairs were captured or driven off, and missions were given full support. One great indignity came to him, however, when Sir Francis Drake landed his men at San Agustin in 1588 to plunder and burn the town.

In 1589 Marques was relieved of his governorship, after twelve years of service. The royal council for a time in 1590 dallied with the idea of sending him to establish a fort at Jacan to keep the English away, but they gave up the idea. Again Marques was put in command of the transatlantic fleet, and the records mention his comings and goings with the silver ships that brought Spain's wealth to Europe. According to one of his biographers he was killed by the Indians in Florida in 1592, but this is another error. He was still sailing in charge of the oceanic fleet as late as 1595. After that year his name disappears from current affairs. No mention of his death has been found, other than the erroneous one.

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THREE WAR LETTERS

Edited by ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

Present day history as recorded in letters from distant sons has made Marylanders conscious of older letters from earlier warriors. The same anxieties, the same reasons for not writing home, the same enthusiasm for the chase, are expressed in fading ink on crumbling paper. It is to be hoped that letters from the present war will be as carefully preserved so that future readers may know in this very personal way of the struggles and aspirations of another generation.

I

Colonel Richard Kidder Meade first raised a company of soldiers in his home county, Prince George's, in Virginia, October, 1775. His Revolutionary services began with the seizure of the arsenal in Williamsburg. In 1777 Washington selected him as one of his aides-de camp and in this important and interesting capacity he served until the close of the war in 1783. He retired to Frederick County, Virginia, to live the life of a planter and is probably best known to posterity as the father of Bishop William Meade of the Episcopal Church.¹

Tap[p]an, Oct. 3rd, 1780

I wrote to you, my good friend, I know not the precise time but in the course of last month, on a subject that keeps me anxious. I have been absent for some days with the Genl. on an interview between him and the Genl. & Admiral of the French Army and Navy.² On my return I expected to have been gratified with a line from you in answer. I have however now been here 5 to 6 days and cannot find a single line from you. You know I have patience and I shall exhibit it on this occasion as I know you are well employed and I am confident there was nothing offensive in

¹ The letter quoted is in possession of Mrs. George E. Baughman of Baltimore, the great great granddaughter of R. K. Meade. Recipient of letter unknown.

² Comte de Rochambeau and the Chevalier de Ternay having recently arrived with the French fleet at Newport, R. I. met Washington and his staff at Hartford, Conn., Sept. 23rd.

my letter and that there is still time for your advice. I am prompted now to give you this hint, not because I conceive you will not give me an answer but in consequence of a recent infernal conduct that has lately taken place,³ which you must have been warned of before now. This circumstance, tho I have ever looked on Arnold as an avaricious unprincipled villain, has added fresh proofs, from the pain I have felt on the occasion to evince me that I have no more business in Public Life than I have to cut the throat of you, my friend.

As I expected to see you not at a very distant period and you will have been informed of this black affair, tho not of all the particulars of it, I shall reserve them until then. I will only add that poor André the British Adj. Genl. was executed yesterday,⁴ nor did it happen my Dr. Sir (tho I would not have saved him for the world) without the loss of a tear on my part. You may think this declaration strange as he was an Enemy, until I tell you that he was a rare character. From the time of his capture to his last moment his conduct was such as did honor to the human race. I mean by these words to express all that can be said favorable of man. The compassion of every man of feeling and sentiment was excited for him beyond your conception. This affair I know will furnish us when we meet with matter for some hours conversation, and I will, on my way to Virginia allot as much time as possible to this, and other purposes.

Both you and the good Woman are entitled to all the respect and friendship that I can bestow. Remember me sincerely to her and be sure, my dear friend, that I am

Yours

R. K. MEADE

I inclose you thimble.
Perhaps the Madam will
accept it.

II

The Navy attracted many young Marylanders during the years of disagreement with the British. Serving for two years as Midshipman on the U. S. S. *United States*, Henry Knapp Randall wrote the following letter to his father, John Randall of Annapolis. Later when his ship was bottled up in the Thames River off New London apparently for the duration, he resigned from the Navy, returned to his native State to enter the Maryland militia and was present with two of his brothers at the disastrous defeat at Bladensburg. Following the war he held various Government positions,

³ Major General Benedict Arnold in command at West Point arranged to surrender that fort to the British but the plot was discovered by the capture of Major André, Sept. 23, 1780.

⁴ Major John André, Aide-de Camp and Adjutant General to Sir Henry Clinton, was hanged as a spy at Tappan, N. Y., Oct. 2, 1780.

the last being Chief of the Bureau of Revolutionary Pensions in Washington, where he died at the age of 84.⁵

New London June 4 [1813]

My Dear Father:

We spoke and brought too a Spanish Brig yesterday the Capt. of which informed us that he was spoken by the *Essex*⁶ near the grand Banks.

On Tuesday last our squadron weighed and stood out to sea. We had just got clear of the land when the Enemy was discovered standing to the west to intercept us, we stood on until nearly within gunshot, when finding it impossible to pass them and being unwilling to wrisk a battle, we hauled our wind up the sound; after a chace of six hours the *Macedonian*⁷ and *Hornet*⁸ began to fall astern and made signals for permission to put into New London, which they obtained and accordingly bore away for that place. The *Hornet* still being in danger, we bore down to her relief and exposed ourselves to the Enemys fire which we returned, and continued our course and arrived safe, the Enemy having to our great surprise backed ship and stood out. We now lay under the fort with springs on our cables and have landed men and guns, and thrown up fortifications opposite New London for our protection.

We have just received a correct account of the engagement between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*; ⁹ a few minutes after the commencement of the engagement the *Shannon* having thrown a quantity of combustibles on board the *Chesapeake* boarded her in the smoke with one hundred and fifty men, which they soon drove below, and crowded all sail in pursuit of the enemy, who had by this time hauled off; the result of the chase is not known. The papers also state that the British made an attack on Sackets Harbour,¹⁰ but were repulsed with considerable loss.

I remain dear father

your affectionate son

H. K. RANDALL ¹¹

⁵ Original letter in possession of Richard H. Randall of Baltimore, great nephew of the writer.

⁶ *U. S. S. Essex*, frigate, 32 guns, Capt. David Porter.

⁷ *Macedonian*, frigate, 38 guns, had been captured the previous year off Madeira by *U. S. S. United States*, under Stephen Decatur and brought to New York to be refitted.

⁸ *U. S. S. Hornet*, sloop of war, 18 guns, had achieved fame under Capt. James Lawrence and was now commanded by Capt. Biddle.

⁹ *U. S. S. Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence, answered the challenge of Capt. Broke of *H. M. S. Shannon* June 1, 1813, and in the fifteen minute fight that ensued had 48 men killed and 98 wounded to the enemy's 26 killed 58 wounded. The *Chesapeake* was captured and Lawrence killed.

¹⁰ Battle of Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., May 29, 1813. A British squadron on Lake Ontario attempted to destroy this main supply base of the Americans on the northern frontier but was repulsed.

¹¹ The *U. S. S. United States* from which this letter was written was a frigate, 44 guns, commanded by Capt. Stephen Decatur and was kept a prisoner in the Thames River, Conn., by the watchful British fleet until the end of the war.

III

Many a family in Maryland was divided over the issues of the Civil War. The Southern cause was, however, far the more popular among the young men of Baltimore, and to the Confederate group belonged John Eager Howard Post. He was the son of Eugene Post of New York and of Margaret Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Governor George Howard of Maryland and granddaughter of Colonel John Eager Howard of Revolutionary fame. Twenty years old at the outbreak of the war he had enlisted as a private in Company H, 1st Maryland Infantry (Capt. William H. Murray), organized at Richmond to be part of an independent regiment attached to the Confederate Army. Subsequently transferred to the Confederate government, the 1st Maryland became part of Elzey's Brigade and at the time of writing had been assigned to Brig. General George H. Steuart, a Marylander. Young Post was later promoted to be 1st Lieutenant and made Adjutant of the 1st Maryland Cavalry and served with this outfit until the surrender. He married Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson and died in 1876, leaving only one child who lived to maturity.¹²

Staunton, June 17, 1862

My precious Mother

I am still spared thro' a succession of hard fought battles¹³ and by the blessing of God have not received even a scratch altho at different times I have been as close as twenty feet to the enemy. I cannot help feeling deeply thankful to a kind Providence for my safe deliverance thro' so many trying scenes and especially as it has pleased him to grant us a victory in every instance.

Our Regiment is now at the above place, having come here for the purpose of recruiting; its numbers having been reduced to 150 men out of 800 its original number. Two companies have served their time out, and gone into other branches of the service, the rest of the men have been either killed or wounded or strayed off and never returned. Our time expires tomorrow. I have not yet determined what I shall do, having been advised by Uncle G. not to reinlist until I see him; but I hope and think the Regiment will be reformed. I am now in the American hotel and have just finished reading a Richmond paper containing extracts from Northern papers in reference to our campaign in the Valley: among them Genl. Banks¹⁴ official report of his retreat, and more outrageous and villanous

¹² The letter is from the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, gift of writer's wife.

¹³ Stonewall Jackson's Valley Campaign.

¹⁴ Nathaniel P. Banks, Gov. of Mass. 1858-61, Maj. Gen. U. S. A.

lies it is impossible to imagine. I think it due to you and all our Southern friends that you should at least have some idea of the complete victory we have gained; so I propose giving you a brief account of what we have done.

On the 15th of last month we left Swift Run Gap in the Blue Ridge, opposite Harrisonburg, and took our march down the Shenandoah towards the enemy. After marching and countermarching a great deal, early in the morning of the 23rd we were joined by Jacksons army about 15 miles from Front Royal. His whole army filed past us cheering and in the best possible spirits. Even up to that time they had fought several battles, and many were barefooted, carrying their boots in their hands, their feet being blistered from long and continual marching. After they all passed, Col. Johnson¹⁵ made us a very inspiring speech, in which he informed us that we were honored with the advance of the Army, and reminded us of our friends confined in the dungeons of Fort Warren.¹⁶ When he had finished a shout rent the air and off we went under the impression that Baltimore was our destination. We marched thru the whole army which had halted along the Road and soon found our selves in the advance. . . . We hurried on toward the town, Front Royal, a half mile distant, and as we hove in sight they fired upon us from the hospital windows and doors, wounding six of our Regiment, none of our company. We charged them, and such getting out, you never did see. We drove them thro' the town, all the time howling like demons. I love to think of all the nice things the young ladies offered us going thro', and hate to think how foolish I was not stopping and getting some. Indeed the ladies were perfectly regardless of danger, balls flying in every direction, but there they stood, pointing out where some Yankees had hidden and encouraging us in every way. Now my dear Ma I don't intend to exaggerate, but to tell you nothing but facts as they ocured before my eyes. I know Pa will say I am blowing. Our little Regiment numbering 300 men charged and drove thro' town in the above style 700 Yankee Marylanders.¹⁷ Wheats Louisiana Battalion 150 men followed us close behind. We took in town and in the suburbs 200 prisoners; the rest escaped us and took refuge under the cover of two guns stationed on a high hill beyond. They opened upon us a shower of shell, which came very close, but did no execution. We continued to advance while the Louisiannians attacked them on their flank. After one hours fighting they began to make a retrograde movement *in good order*. By this time night had come on us, our cavalry pursued and during the next few hours the cavalry brought in two Parrot guns and 650 Yankee Marylanders, including all their field and staff officers. They resisted for some time killing several of our men, among them Capt. Sheets¹⁸ a gallant officer next in command to Genl. Ashby. The loss on our side during the whole day between 20 and 30, that of the enemy must have been very near 1000.

¹⁵ Bradley T. Johnson, Major, Lieut. Col. and Col. 1st Md. Inf., C. S. A.

¹⁶ Fort Warren, Federal prison in Boston harbor.

¹⁷ One of the dramatic episodes of the war when two Maryland regiments faced each other.

¹⁸ George F. Sheetz.

. . . This night we had a regular feast. We captured everything they had, all their camps and every thing belonging to them, haversacks filled with elegant cakes and even oranges and lemons and trains of provisions just arrived. It was the most complete surprise imaginable, most of them told me they were sound asleep, not dreaming we were within 40 miles of them. Our army pushed on that night towards Strasburg, we went the road to Winchester and in the morning booming of canon was heard—here at Strasburg we capture 200 wagons loaded with baggage and provisions. We pressed them closely the whole time, capturing prisoners and baggage to Winchester, where they were compelled to make a stand or lose the few wagons they had remaining. So, early Sunday morning (25th) the ball opened with heavy canonading, we still having the advance. After three hours fighting they began to give way and away they went on the road to Martinsburg. Our Regiment was the first in town, and such wild demonstrations of joy and delight was depicted on the faces of every one, especially the ladies is inconceivable. I really thought they were going to hug us. There again we found delicacies of every description, sutlers stores crowded with every thing wanted, and as we were unable to pursue the enemy on account of the fatigued condition of our men, we had the benefit of them. If you had only known, my dear Ma, what a splendid opportunity this would have been for you to have come up to see me, been there when we arrived and left when we did.

After resting a day, ours and another Regiment went to Martinsburg. I here wrote you a note, I hope you received it. The Yankees were before us on the 28th we took possession of that town and all its stores, a horrible union place with few exceptions. In the battle of Winchester I forgot to mention Lieut. Col. Dorsey wounded in the fleshy part of the arm was the only man touched in our Regiment. After taking a great many arms and stores at Martinsburg and offering the enemy battle two or three times our cavalry crossed the Potomac and went from there to Charlestown where every one are Southern and also have nothing but sunny smiles, and kind treatment greeted us everywhere. On the next day 31st we went to Harpers Ferry, and the enemy had a strong position on Bolivia Hights. . . . Here also our Regiment made a remarkable escape. The shell exploded above our heads in countless numbers and fell harmless between us. Several of our guns were shattered, but no one was hurt. It was raining hard and several of our boys had gone into an old church. A shell struck and went thro' the thick wall and scattered the stones in every direction but still no one was hurt. Toward evening the enemy was compelled to leave and some of our company mounted the high hill, not knowing whether they were concealed behind it or not. Directly we poked our heads over boom came a shell and down we went on our hands and knees. Here all their tents were left standing and notwithstanding the shells we went in their camps and equipped ourselves with india rubber blankets and plenty of haversacks with good things. There we heard that Freemont¹⁰ and

¹⁰ John C. Frémont, explorer, Senator from California, Presidential candidate, Maj. Gen. U. S. A., in command mountain detachment in Western Va.

Shields²⁰ were coming in our rear at Strasburg, a distance of 50 miles. We bivouacked that night a short distance from Harpers Ferry and next day made 38 miles towards the above place. Never was I so tired in my life, as I lied down that night in a dark rain to rest my weary limbs and blistered feet.

Early the next morning our slumbers were disturbed by the roar of canon at Strasburg. Our advance were engaged there, and before we could come up Jackson had totally routed them. This was part of Freemonts army. Shields had gone up the opposite side of the mountain to cut us off at New Market, but our cavalry had burnt the bridge over the Shenandoah a little too soon for them. Our wagon train 5 miles long was the chief source of anxiety. We hastened on and when we got to Woodstock Freemonts whole Army had come upon us, our little Regiment still in the rear covering the retreat. Some of our cavalry behaved shamefully; we had to threaten to shoot some of them to keep them from running. We hurried on down the Valley now and then troubled by the enemy's shells and cavalry till we got past Harrisonburg, where we turned off to the left in the direction of Port Republic, (the turnpike bridge being burnt) Here the enemy overtook us, their cavalry charged ours, and most beautifully were they repulsed, capturing their Colonel and Major and 50 men, besides killing and wounding a great many. After this our Regiment and 5th Va. were ordered back thro' a wood and we came across a Regt lying in ambush; they opened a deadly fire killing a great many Va's and then we were ordered to charge them. We rushed headlong into the shower of bullets from the Yankees concealed behind a fence. In this charge my best friends fell by my side; but on we went, but the Yankees never flinched till we got within ten feet of them and then away they went and we brought them down by dozens. The Regiment proved to be the Bucktail Rifles from Philadelphia, I think. We withdrew that night with sad hearts. Capt. Robinson²¹ of St. Mary's fell while gallantly leading his men. Lieut. Snowdon²² of Herberts Co. fell pierced by three balls. Killed in our company are Harris and Schley both from Eastern Shore, Sindal shot thro' the mouth; Perry thro' the lungs, Tarr thro' the head, Sam Rogers in the stomach slight, Coakley arm, this happened Friday 6th inst.²³ All day Saturday we rested and early Sunday a severe cannonading was heard in our front. Jackson soon whipped Shields here, and we were sent back to check Freemont in our rear. We were soon into it hot and heavy. We had position in a wood; a battery and three Yankee Regts behind a fence 400 yards distant. Such a shower of ball and grape it is impossible for you to imagine; protected by small trees we stood the tremendous fire till we shot all our ammunition away, when we were withdrawn from the fight to get fresh supply; but the shades of night began to deepen and we did not return. In this fight or Regt lost 28 killed and wounded,

²⁰ James Shields, Senator from Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri; Governor of Oregon Territory, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.

²¹ Capt. M. S. Robertson, Co. I, 1st Md. Inf., C. S. A.

²² 3rd Lieut. Nicholas Snowden, Co. D.

²³ This was the battle of Cross Keys.

our company lost Colston ²⁴ shot thro' the groin, White in the mouth, two or three others slightly wounded. In these two fights our regt out of 188 lost 46. Our force in the battle between 10 and 12000, Yankees 20,000. . . . On Monday Shields had been reinforced but early we attacked him. After a desperate fight we routed him completely and captured a splendid battery of brass artillery and one Regt of infantry. Our loss was very heavy from 4 to 500. Our Regt did not get into this fight, arrived just as it was over.²⁵ The position of our army on Sunday was very critical. If they had attacked in our front and rear at the same time, I don't know what would have become of us, but fortunately we whipped one first and then the other. But now thank God we are all safe and the Yankees again in the retreat. The total number of prisoners is between 5 and 6000. Well I suppose if I keep on you will get tired. I doubt not but the day is close at hand when I shall give you a verbal account of our succesful battles in the Valley with the enemy.

The fight before Richmond was a splendid victory for us. Old Maryland will soon be ours and it will certainly be the happiest day of my life when I first set my foot on her sacred soil. That I shall be spared to return in safety home and trusting God to continue his protection over me will be the constant and earnest prayer of your devoted and loving son,

J. E. H. P.

I saw two of the girls Thompson in church on Sunday and would love to go and see them, but considering the condition of my clothes it would not accord with the rules of propriety. I will start for Richmond day after tomorrow. I forgot to mention the sad and serious loss of the gallant Genl Ashby.²⁶ He fell while cheering on his men on our right. The last words we heard him say were 'Take those boys in—they will finish it,' referring to us: this occurred on Friday. Genl Ewell has caused to be inscribed on our banner "Bucktails" in commemoration he says of the gallant charge we made upon that Regiment on the 6th inst.

J. P.

²⁴ Pvt. William E. Colston. Later Aide to Maj. Gen. Trimble. Killed at Harper's Ferry, Jan. 10, 1864.

²⁵ Battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862.

²⁶ Turner Ashby, Brig. Gen. C. S. A., commander of cavalry.

POLITICS IN MARYLAND DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By CHARLES BRANCH CLARK

(Continued from Vol. XL, page 241, September, 1945)

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND, 1861-1865

The most important question confronting the people of Maryland during the first year of the Civil War required a choice between loyalty and secession. And during the succeeding years of the struggle, there was never a time when secession was not a possibility in the minds of many people in the State. Next to this question of loyalty or secession the most important problem for the people of the State concerned slavery and emancipation. Slavery played havoc with the political organization of the State before it was finally settled by the Constitution of 1864.

In 1860 Maryland's population consisted of 87,189 slaves, 83,942 free Negroes, and 515,918 white persons. The slave property in Maryland was estimated at only \$50,000,000.¹ Slavery traditions, therefore, rather than the money value in slaves, created what political strength the pro-slavery group possessed in Maryland. The nearly equal slave and free colored population produced special conditions in Maryland.

Under such conditions the whole colored population was more intelligent, more active, and more self-reliant than in the dense slave communities, and both the desire and the opportunities for escape from bondage were greatly increased amid the confusion of war and the presence of armies.²

Maryland was thus confronted with a peculiar situation when

¹ *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, I (1861), 442.

² J. C. Nicolay and J. Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, VIII, 451. For a full story of the Negro and slavery in Maryland up to the Civil War see James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland* (N. Y., 1921); and Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889).

Lincoln announced his policy of compensated emancipation on March 6, 1862. Before discussing that policy in detail, certain incidents in the State bearing on the status of slavery should be mentioned.

A threatened Negro insurrection was suppressed in Anne Arundel County in April, 1861, by citizens led by the sheriff. General Benjamin Butler, encamped at Annapolis, offered his aid but it was not required.³ Maryland was ever vigilant to guard against such uprisings. Slave-owners, including Governor Hicks and his successor, Augustus W. Bradford, had suffered heavy losses due to runaway slaves and were desirous of preventing additional losses or trouble.⁴

The Unconditional Union convention of May 24, 1861, declared emphatically its opposition to the formation of political parties in Maryland based on the slave question. It held that the preservation of the Union must not be linked with the abolition of slavery.⁵ Military officers stationed in the State during the November, 1861, elections were ordered not to interfere, in any manner, with persons held to servitude. And in order that there might be no cause for "misrepresentation or cavil," they were not to receive or allow any Negro to come within their lines.⁶

In January, 1862, the citizens of Washington County complained to Brigadier-General Stone that soldiers under his command were encouraging insubordination and rebellion among Negro servants in that section. Stone issued an order reprimanding his men for such conduct. He warned that future offenders would be properly punished for disobedience of orders and, on requisition of the civil authorities, would be turned over to the civil courts to be dealt with as the laws of Maryland prescribed.⁷

Two months later, on March 6, 1862, President Lincoln recommended to Congress the adoption of the following joint resolution:

Resolved, That the United States ought to cooperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State

³ Governor Hicks to General Butler, April 23, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, II, 594.

⁴ *Appleton's I* (1861), 442.

⁵ Matthew P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1928), I, 847.

⁶ General John A. Dix to Colonel H. E. Paine, November 4, 1861, *Official Records*, 1st Series, V, 642.

⁷ Order of Brigadier General Stone, January 2, 1862, Frank Moore, *Rebellion Record*, IV, Document 3, p. 11.

pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.⁸

Lincoln said that, if Congress failed to approve the measure, it would be dropped, but if favorable action were taken, the states would be asked at once to accept or reject the proposal. The President added:

The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offense to ask whether the pecuniary considerations tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned than are the institution, and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs?

He explained that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, but he hoped it would soon lead to important and practical results. "The Federal Government," said the President, "would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation."⁹

Lincoln's resolution was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 97 to 36 on March 11, and in the Senate by a vote of 32 to 10 on April 2. Calvert, Crisfield, Leary, and Thomas of Maryland voted against it in the House, while Webster and May were apparently absent.¹⁰ In the Senate Kennedy voted in the negative and Senator Pearce was absent.

On March 10 President Lincoln invited the delegation of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, and Delaware to confer with him at the White House on the resolution. Representatives Leary and Crisfield were the only Marylanders present.¹¹ Lincoln

⁸ *House Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 413-414; *Senate Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 274-275.

⁹ *House Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 413-414; *Senate Journal*, 2nd Sess., 37th Cong., pp. 274-275.

¹⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, III, 463, deviates from his usual accuracy by stating that Henry Winter Davis voted in the House for his resolution. Davis, defeated in June, 1861, was not a member of the House at this time.

¹¹ The account of this meeting was written by John W. Crisfield, immediately after the meeting. It may be found in Edward McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1864), pp. 210-211. Crisfield thought the other Maryland Congressmen were absent from Washington, and was sure that Senator Pearce and Representatives Webster and Calvert were away at the time of the White House conference.

Attached to Crisfield's report is the following witness: "We were present at the interview described in the foregoing paper of Mr. Crisfield, and we certify that the substance of what passed on the occasion is in this paper faithfully and fully given." Signed by J. W. Menzies, J. J. Crittenden, and R. Mallory, on March 10, 1862.

stated that he desired to protect the interests of the Border States, many of whose residents were disgruntled because slave property was not safeguarded as they thought it should be. John W. Noell of Missouri said that his State was already adopting a gradual emancipation; the proposition was, therefore, unnecessary. Noell resented the attitude of the *New York Tribune* which interpreted Lincoln's message to mean that the Border States must accept emancipation by his plan or get something worse. Crisfield asked what would be the effect of a State refusing to accept the proposition. Lincoln replied that the States should decide for themselves, but he would "lament their refusal to accept it." Crisfield stated that Marylanders would not be reluctant to give slavery up if compensated for their slaves and if assured that they would be rid of the Negro. But they did not like to be coerced into emancipation either by direct government action or by indirection "as through the emancipation of slaves in the District, or the confiscation of southern property as now threatened." Maryland would not consent to such a plan until these points were cleared up, said Crisfield.

Lincoln replied that, as long as he was in the White House, Maryland had nothing to fear, "either for her institutions or her interests, on the points referred to." Whereupon Crisfield added: "Mr. President, if what you now say could be heard by the people of Maryland they would consider your proposition with a much better feeling than I fear without it they will be inclined to do." But Lincoln would not consent to a publication of what he had said. He feared it would force him into an undesirable quarrel with the Greeley faction.

Lincoln's resolution passed both Houses of Congress but the Border States took no action on it. Maryland Unionists of the conservative slaveholding class opposed the plan because of their life-long hatred of abolition and because of their constant irritation over the escape of their slaves. Nicolay and Hay say that prejudices kept Marylanders from realizing that such evils might be remedied by a plan such as Lincoln proposed.¹² This view, however, does not take into consideration that the slaveholders lacked real assurance that they would be compensated. Their unwillingness to embark upon a plan that might result in great

¹² Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 451-452.

financial loss is easily understood. The Maryland congressmen, elected on June 13, 1861, by a party organization which still reflected the pre-war conservatism, were not even lukewarm to the President's proposal. Their single bond or party affiliation was opposition to secession and disunion, and they asserted repeatedly their unwillingness to bring the slavery question into prominence. This political sentiment was common to all the Border slave states.

The bill introduced in Congress on December 16, 1861, to emancipate slaves in the District of Columbia brought the slavery question sharply to Maryland's attention. This bill passed the Senate on April 3 and the House on April 11, 1862.¹³ It provided that loyal slave owners should receive compensation, and a sum of money was appropriated for the voluntary colonization of the Negroes in Haiti or Liberia.

This Congressional action had not even been recommended by the Republican party in its 1860 platform. It, together with Lincoln's March 6 program, greatly excited public sentiment in Maryland. The first opposition came from conservative opponents of both propositions. The Maryland legislature, in resolutions of January 2 and February 22, appealed to the Northern States to "rebuke in an unmistakable manner those of their Representatives in Congress, who are wasting their time in devising schemes for the abolition of slavery in rebellious states." Such efforts, it was said, would disturb the relation of master and slave in Maryland, and the "success of the agitators in this scheme would strike a serious blow at the interest of the people of Maryland and impress them with the belief that the government of the United States have not a due regard for their rights, institutions and feelings." Early in March the legislature reaffirmed and recommended the Crittenden resolution to Congress, and declared its apprehension "of an interference with the institution of slavery in the slaveholding states."¹⁴

The popular voice was more specific than the legislature. A meeting, held early in April, 1862, in Montgomery County, where slaveholders were especially annoyed by the escape of slaves into the District, passed a resolution denouncing the abolition of slavery

¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 2nd sess., 37th Cong., p. 1340, and Appendix, p. 364; Lincoln signed this bill on April 6.

¹⁴ *Laws of Maryland* (1862), Resolution No. 4, and No. 5, p. 371. See also Scharf, *op. cit.*, III, 463.

in Washington as unwise, ill-timed, unconstitutional, and as the entering wedge of a general scheme of abolition.¹⁵ Reverdy Johnson stated his belief that Congress had no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District. The matter was expected to come before the Supreme Court where Johnson was scheduled to handle several cases arising from the bill.¹⁶

The *Baltimore American* disagreed with the Maryland congressmen, the State legislature, and the slaveholding element on the slave question. It showed that in 1850 Maryland had 1,747,623 cultivated acres and 1,211,359 uncultivated acres in the thirteen slaveholding counties. In the seven comparatively free counties—Allegany, Washington, Frederick, Carroll, Baltimore, Harford, and Cecil—there were 980,147 cultivated acres and 635,085 uncultivated. Strange to say, remarked the editor,¹⁷ the cultivated farms in the free counties although possessing only about one-half the acreage of the cultivated farms in the slave counties, were worth, with improvements, \$47,851,615, while the farms in the slaveholding counties were worth only \$41,779,616. An acre of land, cultivated principally by free labor, was worth, therefore, about twice as much as an acre cultivated by slave labor. The paper asked what it mattered how fast the slaves absconded. "Our land will be doubly increased in value. A prodigious gain." It advocated that the laws of Maryland "punishing the enticing of slaves to abscond, and the laws forbidding their taxation, and the multitude of others encouraging the institution," be repealed—"the whole of them and the slaves would go without cost to us, we would be large gainers by the operation." The State would reap a "prodigious benefit" whether its Negroes were lost "by emancipation, or by the running off process." Nor should it be forgotten, said the editorial, that compensation for freed slaves was possible if Lincoln's March 6 proposal were accepted.¹⁸

The *Baltimore American* was very influential in Maryland and the bolder politicians of the State capitalized upon the effect of its opinions on the slave issue to begin the organization of a new and more radical party. They planned to supplant in popular leadership those of Maryland who would keep the emancipation question out of politics.

¹⁵ Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 455.

¹⁶ *Maryland Union* (Frederick), May 1, 1862.

¹⁷ April 4, 1862. These figures were drawn from census returns.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

A convention, held in Baltimore on May 28, composed of delegates chosen by Union meetings in the city wards, adopted a series of resolutions that approved the "wise and conservative policy proposed by the President in his message of the 6th March, 1862, and sanctioned by Congress."¹⁹ It was the "duty" of Maryland, and to the "interest" of her people, to accept Lincoln's program of gradual emancipation. It would sustain the government "as well against the treason of secession as against the radical and violent projects of fanatical abolitionists." Maryland, it was said, should act at once, accept the aid thus tendered, and remove an institution no longer profitable in the State. These resolutions severely criticized the Maryland legislature for "putting forth unnecessary protests calculated to embarrass the action of the government and throw doubt upon the position of the State," and for failing to take a vote on the question of calling a constitutional convention to act upon the slave issue. The conservative legislature had not met the "demands of the crisis," nor answered the "just expectations of the loyal people of Maryland."

The Baltimore convention also denounced the inequality and injustice of the existing State apportionment in the legislature. The smaller counties, holding the slave population, contained only one-fourth of the State's population and paid less than one-fourth of the State taxes. Yet they virtually controlled the State by sending thirty-four out of seventy-four delegates and fourteen out of twenty-two senators to the legislature. This was an average of one delegate to 3,831 white persons in the southern counties against one delegate to 9,641 white persons in the northern counties. This system gave the southern counties one senator to 9,641 white persons while the northern counties had one senator to every 48,205 persons. The lack of adequate representation for Baltimore City was especially deplored. The convention demanded that the constitution be amended so as to correct this inequality and to base representation on white population alone.²⁰

This argument in favor of a State convention was supported by the liberal and progressive voters among the slaveholding class, and particularly by the white laboring population of Baltimore City. They united to work out plans for an unconditional Union

¹⁹ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

²⁰ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227. Archibald Stirling was chairman of the meeting and John H. Lloyd secretary.

party that favored emancipation and fair representation in the legislature. They were aided by the Union victory at Antietam, the quick expulsion of the Confederate invasion, and the President's preliminary proclamation of emancipation of September, 1862.

While the issue of emancipation was thus forging its way into Maryland politics, runaway slaves were causing slaveowners great trouble and much loss. Many slaves left Prince George's County for Washington, apparently believing that they would receive their freedom. They escaped in parties of from five to fifty, but separated into small squads just before reaching the Eastern Branch bridge, in order to avoid suspicion on crossing. During the course of a week, from 100 to 200 were reported to be taking up residence in the city. Many owners found it almost useless to pursue them.²¹

Governor Bradford, therefore, wrote to Attorney General Edward Bates on May 10, stating that the complaints of slave owners in Maryland were increased by the rumor that the government had forbidden the marshal of the District to execute any warrant for the arrest of runaway slaves, on the ground that the Fugitive Slave Law did not apply in Washington. Bradford said the Maryland people believed otherwise and depended on the Fugitive Slave Law. The abolition of slavery in the District, he said, had excited two classes of people in Maryland—the politicians with no genuine interest in the slave question but who used it to agitate the partisan effect, and those who were losing property and who favored law enforcement. Bradford addressed Bates in behalf of the latter class, and urged that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 be enforced, at least until the courts decided it was not applicable to Washington. The Attorney General replied to Bradford on the following day. He said it was a "new and unexpected" rumor to him that the marshal of the District of Columbia had received such orders. The rumor was "mere fiction started by some evil disposed person, to stir up bad feeling and to frighten the timid and credulous. . . ." Since the district attorney and the marshal were under Bates' general supervision, he would surely know of such an order if it existed.²²

Governor Bradford continued to be besieged by complainants.

²¹ *Baltimore Sun*, April 8, 1862.

²² Executive Letter Book (Md.), pp. 289-290, for Bradford's and Bates's letters.

A delegation from Prince George's, Anne Arundel, and Calvert counties visited him, asking aid for those who were losing their slaves.²³ It was charged that when slaves reached Washington they were protected by persons, representing themselves as Federal officers, who prevented the reclamation of slaves by civil process under the Fugitive Slave Law. These officers alleged that they were working under instructions received from the President and the Secretary of State, and would not allow the recovery of runaway slaves even by their owners. This led to disorder and the people of the slave counties feared slave insurrections. The delegation implored Governor Bradford to protect the lives and property of Maryland citizens by calling out a State force, posse, or patrol in the counties, and to protest to the Federal authorities such action by its officers.²⁴

Bradford replied to Colonel William D. Bowie, chairman of the delegation, saying that he felt the expense of such force would not be justified by the value of the slaves it would reclaim or prevent from escaping. The "controlling consideration," however, was that such a force would cause serious collisions and worse calamities. It would be preferable, Bradford said, for the county sheriffs to use their powers. The Governor then denounced the District Emancipation Law, calling it the

selfish and incendiary course of those who at the very moment when the nation is struggling for its existence, and all its energies should be concentrated to that end, have persisted in this wanton violence to the feelings of the border states, and in hurling this firebrand among those of their citizens who have that end chiefly at heart. . . .²⁵

But since it had been passed it must be regarded as "an accomplished fact." Bradford rapped those in Maryland who had supported emancipation in the District, and accused them of using it as a means of stirring up discontent that might take the State out of the Union. He said he had visited Lincoln twice in connection with the subject and had been led to believe that the Fugitive Slave Law would be made to apply to the District. In this manner, and not by the use of State force, Bradford believed runaways could best be checked. Slaves continued to escape in such numbers,

²³ Augustus W. Bradford, "Journal," May 16, 1862.

²⁴ Executive Letter Book, p. 293, *et seq.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

however, that some owners took their slaves to private jails in Baltimore where they could be safeguarded.²⁶

Dr. John H. Bayne wrote Bradford that the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law was a "perfect nullity" in the District. Slaves from Maryland passed straight through the District to Alexandria, Virginia and vicinity where they received protection. Bradford was again asked to help recover these slaves. Fields stood uncultivated, said Dr. Bayne, and loyal Marylanders were becoming disloyal because the Federal government practically sanctioned the loss of their property. Marylanders wanted the Union preserved, not slavery destroyed, he said,²⁷ But Dr. Bayne, like many others, did not realize that the Union hinged upon the question.

In his reply to Bayne Governor Bradford admitted that he knew of no practical method of redressing the evil. He had no authority, he said, to send troops to protect slave property. The loss must be accepted as "one of the casualties of *war*, one of the direct and anticipated fruits of this atrocious rebellion, got up under the pretense of establishing a better security for his very species of property." In fact, said Bradford, if they could get by with just the loss of their slaves, he would "thank God."²⁸ He regretted that one of so loyal and "true a type" as Dr. Bayne should falter in his loyalty. He could not believe that the "patriotism of the loyal people of Maryland is of so flexible a character, that they will require guarantees of any kind before they 'come to the rescue.'" Their fear of future losses was excited by the fear of a "petty faction whose power for mischief only exists whilst our political system is in its present disorganized condition." Bradford had in mind the group that wanted to organize an emancipation party in Maryland by taking advantage of the national feeling on the issue. He asserted that the majority in Maryland believed that slavery had run its course, but favored abolition only as a voluntary and gradual process. Bradford closed his letter by urging that loyalty to the Federal government must be maintained and not

²⁶ One of these jails was operated by B. M. and W. L. Campbell on Pratt Street, near Howard, in Baltimore. Slaves rioted there on one occasion, but were suppressed with the aid of police. *Baltimore American*, June 2, 1862.

²⁷ Dr. John H. Bayne to Bradford, July 11, 1862, Executive Letter Book, p. 315.

²⁸ Bradford to Bayne, July 14, 1862, Executive Letter Book, pp. 315-317. Bradford's statement here is significant in that he had already lost much property because of runaway slaves. Later in the war the Confederates burned his home with all its valuables.

lessened because of slave losses. Secession was the "only course to which they can look when they refuse to come to the rescue of the Union," but it would not solve their problems, he said.

Ex-Governor Hicks agreed with Bradford's position. In a letter to Lincoln²⁹ he said he had worked to prevent the President's election, but now recognized him as the constitutional President and would support his administration "as far as it accorded with the Constitution of the United States." Thus far he believed it had done so. Hicks asked Lincoln to veto the District Emancipation bill as a "matter of policy to the Border states," because it would cause Maryland especial trouble. He also besought the President not to molest slavery in the states and to prevent the "mad doings of Sumner, Willson, Lovejoy, etc., until the Rebellion shall be put down." Hicks would give up his slaves "tomorrow" if necessary to preserve the Union, but did not believe that was the solution. Slavery should be settled after the Union was restored, he said.

Brantz Mayer, prominent Baltimore lawyer, also supported Bradford's views. He published an article in the *Baltimore American* of June 17, 1862, entitled "The Emancipation Problem in Maryland."³⁰ Though firm in his Union sentiments, Mayer was no extremist. He asserted that Maryland was "already overburdened with free colored people," and therefore slaves should not be emancipated until after the war. Emancipation, he said, was an organic change that would interfere with the "true and single purpose of restoring the Union under the Constitution."

Because the Border States took no action on Lincoln's March 6 proposal of compensated emancipation, Lincoln again appealed to the Border States on the subject of emancipation on July 12.³¹ He asserted that had they accepted his proposal the war would be over. There was only one way to defeat the Confederacy, he believed, and that was for the Border States to free their slaves and thereby convince the South that they would not support rebellion. It would also be to the advantage of these states to free their slaves while compensation might be obtained, for there was little possibility of it if slaves were freed by the war. Lincoln said he

²⁹ Hicks to Lincoln, May 26, 1862, Hicks MSS.

³⁰ Reprinted in a four page leaflet.

³¹ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-214; *Baltimore Republican*, July 18, 1862; *Baltimore American*, July 19, 1862.

and the country would be relieved if these states accepted gradual and compensated emancipation and assumed the initiative in such a process. He said he had already offended too many people by repudiating General Hunter's proclamation freeing slaves in South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia.

The Border statesmen replied that Congress should take the initiative. The mere passage of resolutions was not a reliable basis for them to act upon. They denied that the war would have been over had they accepted his proposal in March. The Border States had never planned to desert the Union. They felt that Lincoln's plan was too hastily conceived and too expensive.³² When they were assured of funds for the emancipation, deportation, and colonization of slaves, they would seriously consider the President's proposals.³³ Lincoln replied that unless Congress made an appropriation for the plan, "the bottom would be out of the tub."³⁴ Actually there was no intention of making such an appropriation, and Lincoln's second appeal to the Border states met with no more success than his first. If anything, his plan was farther from adoption, for the Border States had now made their position clear and it was unfavorable to the plan. Slavery was traditionally too much a part of the social and economic life of these states for them to take the lead in its abolition.

Lincoln already had his preliminary proclamation of emancipation under consideration. It was first considered in a cabinet meeting on July 22, but laid aside until the military prospects of the North were brighter. The summer of 1862 was a dark one for the North, but in September McClellan won a doubtful victory at Antietam which furnished Lincoln with the occasion he had awaited. He therefore issued his proclamation on September 22.

³² McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-217; *Baltimore Republican*, July 18, 1862.

There were 4,000,000 slaves in the South, each of whom would bring \$300 to his owner in compensation, or a total of \$1,200,000,000. To this must be added \$100 to deport each slave, or \$400,000,000. The "proposition is nothing less than the deportation from the country of \$1,600,000,000 worth of producing labor, and the substitution in its place of an interest bearing debt of the same amount." For the Border States of Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, Missouri, and Tennessee, the figure would amount to \$478,038,133.

³³ The majority report of July 14, 1862, was signed by 20 representatives, including 5 from Maryland—Crisfield, Calvert, Thomas, Leary, and Webster. Henry May was not present. The *Baltimore Sun*, July 16, 1862, says that May probably wasn't asked to attend, since he was a State Rights Democrat on the subject of slavery.

³⁴ *Baltimore Sun*, July 17, 1862.

It declared that slaves should be declared free in all states still in rebellion against the United States on January 1, 1863.³⁵

The *Baltimore American* doubted that Lincoln's proclamation would aid in suppressing the rebellion. Only the "utmost vigor in our military and naval movements" would help measurably, it was argued. The capture of Abingdon, Virginia, the chief source of the South's salt supply, would "do more than any paper manifesto" to bring the South to terms. The supply of English war materials, brought by steamers to Charleston, should also be stopped.³⁶ This paper called Lincoln's Proclamation a sudden departure from his "fixed policy." His handling of the proclamations issued by Fremont, Hunter, and Phelps had led the country to expect something else. It appeared, said this journal, that the President had capitulated to the Greeley and Sumner school, thereby weakening his position in the country. The *American* also denied the constitutionality of the proclamation, even as a "military necessity." Abolition was not a policy, but an expedient that would do more mischief than good even when backed by the President. It would divide and unsettle public sentiment in the loyal states. Slavery was already on the wane in Maryland and other states, but "whilst it had hardly vitality enough to die, as matters were moving on, it may be galvanized into fierce action by the folly of its old assailants." The President should modify his proclamation because it would not "alter the standing of slavery in Maryland materially, and is of *no use whatever elsewhere without military success.*"³⁷

The *Frederick Examiner* held different views. It believed that the Proclamation, though not applying to Maryland, would offer relief to thousands of slave owners and, accompanied by Federal emancipation, would help to promote the welfare and prosperity of Maryland. It was a measure of "sound policy and stern necessity." Slavery was doomed by the war, thought this paper, and preparation should be made for the social revolution lest it be accompanied by calamities.³⁸

Governor Bradford opposed Lincoln's proclamation. As chairman of a meeting of governors at Altoona, Pennsylvania, in late

³⁵ McPherson, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 227-28; *Baltimore American*, September 23, 1862.

³⁶ September 22, 1862.

³⁷ *Baltimore American*, September 30, 1862.

³⁸ October 1, 1862.

September, Bradford asserted that the measure would be ineffective except within the Union lines, that it would be a "handle" to the rebels, and made "a rallying cry against us." He refused to sign the address issued by the representatives of sixteen states approving Lincoln's Proclamation. He said he would give his views separately.³⁹

On December 16, 1862, Governor Bradford conferred with A. C. Gibbs and others of West River, Anne Arundel County, who urged him to issue a proclamation to Maryland slaves stating that Lincoln's Proclamation of September did not concern them. Bradford opposed such action but sent Gibbs a statement, to be read in the latter's neighborhood, to the effect that Lincoln's Proclamation did not refer to any but the states in rebellion. Bradford felt that a proclamation to the whole State was inadvisable for two reasons. If slaves believed they would be free on January 1, a proclamation stating otherwise would likely lead to a stampede as the last means of effecting their freedom. It would do better, thought the Governor, to let them find out gradually so that they would have no chance to organize effectively for their freedom. In the second place, he believed that a proclamation would create the opinion outside of Maryland that it had been necessary to stem a revolt of slaves, and that this opinion would filter back to the State and probably stimulate such a revolt.⁴⁰ Bradford knew this was a delicate question and took every detail into consideration before making a decision.

³⁹ The *Maryland Union* (Frederick), October 2, 1862. Bradford could not bring himself to believe that slavery had been a real issue in bringing on the war. He wrote a pamphlet in 1861, entitled *The Main object of the Rebellion* (also published in the *Easton Gazette* (Md.), October 8, 1892), in which he said:

"The pretext that the loss or insecurity of the slave property of the southern planter had anything to do with it [Civil War], is too flimsy to need refutation. One single scattered fact is sufficient to illustrate its ridiculous absurdity. The census returns of 1850 shows that whilst Maryland with the slave population of only 90,368 lost in that year 279 fugitive slaves, the five great slave states of the South, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the leaders of the Rebellion, with a slave population of 1,664,197, lost in fugitives in the aggregate, 265. Or, in other words, these five states with a slave population eighteen times as great as Maryland, lost together fourteen slaves less than Maryland alone. And, so far from even that loss being likely to increase, the next census taken a year ago [1860], shows that whilst the slave population of the above five states had increased in the preceding ten years from 1,664,197 to 2,069,119, their loss in fugitive slaves had actually decreased as compared to the preceding census, from 265, to 196, two-thirds of whom were doubtless still lurking about the swamps and jungles of their own states."

⁴⁰ Bradford to A. C. Gibbs, December 17, 1862, Executive Letter Book, pp. 348-350.

Lincoln's September Proclamation did not have the desired effect, and he proceeded to issue the Proclamation of Emancipation on January 1, 1863. As expected, it was not received warmly in Maryland. The *Baltimore American*, the leading loyal journal in the State, again argued that the Proclamation was unnecessary since slavery was already doomed. Unless supported by a military advance, it was a "dead letter" anyhow. In regard to Maryland specifically, the *American* said:

No one need suppose that slavery will ever, in view of what is going on South of us, be of much account as an institution again. Even as matters stood in the past it occupied a more precarious footing than in other states probably, and no one can doubt but that the best interests of all concerned—as matters are going along now—call for prompt deliberation and action on the part of slave-owners if they would save a modicum of what is undoubtedly a large interest greatly endangered by the events of the hour. . . . What chance will she [Maryland] have of making slavery in the slightest degree *profitable* with free territory environing the slave interest on every side? In view of what impends over them is it not the duty—at least, the interest—of the Slaveholders of the State at once take steps to get compensation for a fleeting interest, one that all must recognize as doomed? ⁴¹

⁴¹ January 3, 1863.

BOOK REVIEWS

Admiral De Grasse and American Independence. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1945. xviii, 404 pp. \$3.00.

This is the first complete, well rounded up and authoritative biography of a great seaman who is better remembered in America than in France, but who even in America is not sufficiently honored and remembered for his decisive contribution which brought about the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

It is more than a mere biography of de Grasse. It happened that the young French nobleman who entered the *Gardes Marines* at the age of 11, and was to stay in the Navy for fifty years, had such a career that an outline of the history of the French Navy and French naval policies during more than a half century had to be given as a necessary background.

It was de Grasse's good fortune that he spent most of his life at sea and not in the antechambers of Versailles, that he participated as a young officer in most of the campaigns of the French fleet from the Battle off Cape Finistère, where he was captured, to the disastrous campaigns of the Seven Years War in the West Indies. He served under great commanders at a time when unfortunately the French navy kept using obsolete tactics, and was more interested in developing skillful evolutions like perfect quadrilles than in downright hard fighting. Those were the days when the Navy was no longer considered by the Court as an essential instrument of politics and when the French had lost interest in their colonies even before actually losing them to the British. It was not until after 1763, under Choiseul and Praslin and later under Sartines, that the Court of Versailles seriously thought of reconstructing a powerful navy and not until after the people of Paris had raised by public subscription enough money to build the ill-fated three-decker *Ville de Paris*.

After these preliminaries which were indispensable and could even have been elaborated upon, for they explain some aspects of the character of de Grasse, the author reaches with Chapter IX, the history of the naval participation of France in the War of Independence, from the Engagement off Ushant and the first campaigns in the West Indies to the day when de Grasse was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Général (Rear admiral), and given command of a fleet in March, 1781. His advancement had not been too rapid: he was then in his sixtieth year, was already feeling old and was in bad health.

The part played by the French fleet under de Grasse in the final episode of the Virginia campaign has often been told. The account given here by Professor Lewis, in the chapters entitled "The Strategy of Yorktown," and "Converging Forces," presents the rare merit of coordinating with great skill and clarity the land and sea operations, without making undue claims for either side. Yorktown thus appears in its true light as an extraordinary achievement in international cooperation, made possible only because of the willingness of the allied commanders to adapt themselves to new circumstances, to give up their most cherished schemes, to modify their original plans and to accept their responsibilities.

In order to give proper assistance to Washington and Rochambeau Admiral de Grasse had to depart from a strict interpretation of his instructions to interpret them in the broadest manner. He placed at the disposal of the commander in chief ships, men, provisions and money which made the final victory possible. His "momentous decision" was no sudden flash of genius; it was the culmination of a long career entirely devoted to the sea and thus far unmarked by conspicuous success. Nor were the Americans ungrateful and Washington was the first to recognize de Grasse's "illustrious services in the common cause." At the hands of his fellow countrymen he received a less unqualified recognition.

A large part of Professor Lewis's book is devoted to a detailed study of the disastrous campaign which resulted in the defeat of the French fleet at the battle of the Saints and in an attempt to justify de Grasse against the accusations of his contemporaries. Whatever may be the case and even admitting that de Grasse's subordinates, and particularly Bougainville, did not obey his orders, the fact remains—and the French could not forget it—that he surrendered to Rodney with his flagship *Ville de Paris*, the pride of the French navy and the Parisian people. The fact that he was honored by his enemies, generously and splendidly treated in London, that he was absolved of all blame, that the defeat off Saints Passage did not influence the final issue could not suffice to stem the tide of unpopularity which assailed him after his return to France. That he was cruelly and unfairly attacked by many of his contemporaries cannot be denied; the well documented and generous book of Professor Lewis ought to contribute to restore a man who had his day, and was both glorious and unfortunate, to the place due him in naval history and the history of Franco-American relations.

GILBERT CHINARD

Princeton University.

When the French Were Here. A Narrative of the Sojourn of the French Forces in America, and Their Contribution to the Yorktown Campaign. By STEPHEN BONSAI. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1945. 263 pp. \$3.00.

Clemenceau, the Premier of France during World War I, was the inspiration for this book. It was the Tiger's ambition, accompanied by

Mr. Bonsal, to follow the itinerary from Narragansett Bay to Yorktown of those French troops who helped the American colonies gain their independence. Although Clemenceau's death in 1929 put an end to this plan, Mr. Bonsal decided to describe and follow the movements of the French troops under General Rochambeau. And the Tiger had promised him "I will be with you in spirit."

Based largely on the diaries and letters of French officers who participated in the campaigns, the book gives not only first hand accounts of military manoeuvres, but also tells much of the customs and habits of Americans of that period. Claude Blanchard, chief commissary of the French forces, writes that he attended a dinner in Newport where a giant turtle weighing between three or four hundred pounds, which had been brought from the West Indies, was the main course. At the banquet, according to Blanchard, the men all sat on one side of the table and the women on the other. The dance, which followed, did not please the Frenchman, as he found that Americans "stretch out and lengthen their arms in a way that is far from agreeable."

Blanchard, one of whose duties as commissary was to keep the French troops supplied with firewood, was surprised to learn that a farmer who brought the wood was a brother of the famous General Greene. "Voilà les mœurs Américaines," was the commissary's brief comment.

Marching south from New York to join with the naval forces of Admiral de Grasse operating in the Chesapeake Bay, the French troops passed through Philadelphia wearing coats with rose-colored facings and grenadier caps with white and rose-colored feathers. No wonder the ladies of Philadelphia were struck with astonishment. Then on to Yorktown and victory followed by a ball given by General Rochambeau at Williamsburg. An officer on the general's staff noted that the ladies of Williamsburg show "a partiality for the Minuet and dance it fairly well; undoubtedly better than the ladies of the North who excel in the Schottish."

When, later, Rochambeau visited Baltimore he not only enjoyed Maryland hospitality, but also "the after-dinner speeches of the Moales and the Purviances, of gallant 'Sam' Smith, and other worthies, who spoke at the innumerable banquets with which he was honored at the Fountain Inn."

Upon completing this delightfully written book, the reader cannot help but feel that General Rochambeau played a much more important part in the American Revolution than his youthful contemporary, Lafayette. For this reason Marylanders may well be proud of a resolution passed by their Assembly, shortly before the general sailed from Annapolis, in which regret is expressed at his approaching departure and esteem and affection for the general and his troops.

RAPHAEL SEMMES

Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860. By BERTUS H. WABEKE. New York: Netherlands Information Bureau, 1944. 160 pp.

Very justly the author points out that this is a history of "emigration," i. e. the story of individuals and groups who left their country to settle across the ocean. It does not pay any attention to the story of Dutch explorations, to life in the various Dutch communities or the cultural contributions of these immigrants. The author is chiefly concerned with the three main phases of Dutch emigration: the settlement of New Netherland 1624-1664, the emigration to British America until the outbreak of the Revolution, and the great migration of the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century. The fact that the chief agents of early Dutch colonization were more interested in trade (particularly fur trade) than in the founding of settlements was responsible for the failure of the Dutch colonies along the Middle Atlantic. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there were two group settlements in which Dutch people participated, the founding of Germantown in Pennsylvania (although the author somewhat exaggerates the share of the Dutch) and the establishment of the Labadist colony in Maryland. In Germantown the Dutch were outnumbered by the Germans and soon lost their Dutch characteristics, while the Labadists did not have enough moral force to survive as a coherent group. The author does not always draw a clear line between the Dutch in the sense of Hollanders and the "Dutch" from a distorted *deutsch* (German) as in the connotation Pennsylvania-Dutch. William Rittenhouse, the first paper maker, for instance, was not a Hollander from Arnhem, but a German from Mülheim-on-the-Ruhr.

Most interesting is the chapter on Dutch emigration in the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas in colonial times Dutch immigrants concentrated on the Middle Atlantic colonies like New York, New Jersey and Delaware, since 1840 the stream of the Hollanders has been directed towards the northern part of the Middle West: Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin. At the beginning of the Civil War almost half of the 28,000-odd Holland-born residents of the United States were living in these three states. The author emphasizes that economic as well as religious causes were the motives of most of these immigrants. As a whole, it is a very valuable little book, a type of "short history" one would like to see written for other national minority groups in American immigration history.

DIETER CUNZ

University of Maryland.

The House of Hancock. Business in Boston, 1724-1775. By W. T. BAXTER. (Harvard Studies in Business History, X). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945. xxvii, 321 pp. \$3.50.

Here is a volume which describes in detail a mercantile business of pre-Revolutionary times and tells the story so well that it is delightful read-

ing. The author, who is an expert accountant, uses the mass of Hancock accounts, letters, and papers which have been preserved, and not only explains them so clearly that ordinary laymen can understand, but also draws from them something of the romantic air which pervaded the commerce of the colonial period. The book is a high light among scholarly works on business history.

The initial chapters, after some remarks on the Hancock family and its start in trade, discuss the various methods employed in the conduct of mid-eighteenth century commercial ventures. The succeeding sections deal with Thomas Hancock's rise to prosperity, the effects of the French and Indian Wars and the business of supplying British troops, the shift to potash and oil, and the rapid decline after John Hancock took charge. The author's method—a complete discussion of the material, with illustrative items in appendices at the end of each chapter—is very satisfactory, for it provides a text bare of lengthy quotations, and at the same time gives selected bits of the original sources for those who wish to follow closely the use of the manuscripts.

Maryland readers will be interested to know that among the Carroll and Ridgely papers at The Maryland Historical Society are long runs of similar materials for the ports of the Chesapeake, not to mention some collectors' records and scattered series which deal with the same subject.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

A Short History of the Boys' School of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Maryland, 1849-1945. By ARTHUR B. KINSOLVING, D. D. [Baltimore: Privately printed, 1945] 43 pp.

In carrying out the request of the school authorities Dr. Kinsolving has written an informative and readable little book. He has traced lightly the early struggles of the school during the successive rectorships of the Rev. Drs. Wyatt, Mahan and Hodges, but the major portion of the book is devoted to the story of the last thirty-nine years. This is as it should be, for these are the years of the greatest and most significant development of the institution. During the greater part of this period Dr. Kinsolving himself was rector of St. Paul's Parish and chairman of the board of trustees of the school. Its present standing is a tribute to his leadership.

Dr. Kinsolving has not written a mere chronicle of events. The book is intimate and conversational in style and alive with the personalities of trustees, benefactors, teachers and students. Woven throughout also is an earnest plea to Christian men and women for greater interest in "sound secular education in a Church atmosphere." This, says the writer, has been the aim of St. Paul's School from the beginning. Impressive is the evidence of accomplishment of St. Paul's alumni in the business and professional fields. The school's well recognized contribution to the development of Church music in this country is very properly emphasized, although it will doubtless surprise many to learn that it was never strictly a choir school. Interesting features of the book are the appendices giving partial lists of

those former students who have taken holy orders since 1849 and those who have served in the armed forces in World War II.

THOMAS DEC. RUTH

An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America (1701). An Anonymous Virginian's Proposals For Liberty Under The British Crown, With Two Memoranda. By WILLIAM BYRD. Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT. San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1945. 66 pp. \$2.50.

The rather short essay which forms the corpus of this latest output of the Huntington Library is, the editor thinks, "One of the best-reasoned arguments by an American" on the relations between England and the American plantations or colonies. Historian and political philosopher will both find it interesting. It was published anonymously, and a good part of the editor's introduction deals with the uncertainty of who wrote it. The Virginian author was led to set down his thoughts by the appearance of Charles Davenant's *Discourses on the Publick Revenues*, and he gives a good quarter of his work to showing wherein Davenant was mistaken. There were many things about the American colonies that the Englishman did not know.

In the essay proper the Virginian took up the grievances connected with the colonies, and then set forth ways in which those grievances might be met. Then he outlined a frame of government, always within the allegiance of England: independence was not part of his plan. He wanted a general assembly of all the provinces, with representation roughly according to population, and with the meeting place changing from time to time. Even in 1701 the provinces all had complaints against one another: the author proposes, in order to remedy "the grievances that one plantation is to another," that there be a general law binding on all of them, and that by this general law a way be found to decide all controversies between colony and colony. This same general law must also be able to bring to condign punishment all persons who commit offences against one colony and flee to another; it must settle all disputes concerning trade in the several colonies. These ideas should sound very familiar to anyone who has read the constitution of the United States.

ELIZABETH MERRITT

History and Genealogy of the Leibensperger Family. Compiled by ELMER I. LEIBENSPERGER, [Reading, Pa.]: Published by the Leibensperger Family Association [1943]. 564 pp.

John George Leipersberger (1693—ca. 1767), a Lutheran, born at Schmerach, Wurttemberg, came to Philadelphia County, Pa., in 1732 and died in the present Lehigh County. Descent from him, in the male and female lines, is here brought down to the present. The name became

Leibelsperger, Leibensperger and Livelsberger in Pennsylvania and Livelsberger, Livelsparger, Livensparger and Livenspire in Ohio. The families of Butz, Derr, Fisher, Frederick, Kemmerer, Metzger, Reinhard, Schaeffer, Zimmerman and others descend through female lines.

Sources have been adequately exploited and cited. Given names, however, are not well handled. Diminutives should have been converted into proper forms, and middle names, rather than initials, should have been given. The book is illustrated with photographs and is indexed by chapters. Binding, paper and typography are excellent.

DONNELL M. OWINGS

The American Philosophical Society and the Early History of Forestry in America. By GILBERT CHINARD. (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 89, No. 2, 1944.) Philadelphia: the Society, 1944. 45 pp.

The early lore of American forestry, with special emphasis on the wasteful methods of original and later generations of settlers, has been garnered by Professor Chinard from the works of little known commentators on America. The result is a charming essay on a topic which has yet to win full understanding and acceptance, namely, conservation of trees. Here are traced the early pseudo-scientific beliefs in the effects of forests on health. One writer thought trees exhaled poisonous moisture which caused fevers while another held that destruction of forests induced commotions of the atmosphere, resulting in a "preternatural ferment" and producing "bad effects." Valuable light on farming methods and the denuding of the landscape to provide houses and firewood is derived from the illuminating comments of foreign visitors which Dr. Chinard, thanks to his wide knowledge of this literature, has assembled. Other witnesses called upon are Franklin, Jefferson, John Bartram, Jeremy Belknap, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and André Michaux.

J. W. F.

Maryland Through the Camera's Eye. Volume I. [Sykesville, Md.:] Jones Sister [1945]. 50 pp. \$5.00.

This book of 25 hand-colored photographs, each with its accompanying page of descriptive text, is a unique venture in the local book field. It is the product of the combined talents of three sisters, the Misses Ida, Elsie S. and Frances Jones of Sykesville. Needless to say, it bears the marks of a labor of love as well as of commerce. The pictures are actual photo-prints, not press reproductions, and nearly all are fit to mount and frame individually. The subjects range through famous old homes, historic spots and unusual "shots" all the way from Easton to Hagerstown. Unfortunately the text in most cases leaves much unsaid and appears to have been hastily "written up."

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE ROLE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of the Society, was the principal speaker at the opening of the new home of the Historical Society of Frederick County on Labor Day, September 3rd. The house on West Patrick Street, Frederick, which has been presented to the Society by Mrs. William Bradley Tyler Belt, widow of a native of Frederick who became a prominent citizen of Omaha, Nebraska, was formerly the residence of the Steiner family. The concluding portion of Senator Radcliffe's address follows:

"I rejoice in the fact that in providing this historic and attractive home for the Frederick County Historical Society the far-sighted donor is doing something which will help greatly the cause of good citizenship.

"History pleases, but it also instructs and constructs. In the trying days which are ahead of us we will need the benefit of every useful agency which can be made available to assist us in adopting wise policies and doing essential things. This building, enshrining the tradition and history of Frederick County, will ever be a reminder of what has been done so well by your forefathers in this county. It will bring to your service the vast field of experience. As you go forward step by step, it will aid and succor you. The information which it will bring to you, and the helpful advice which it can prompt are elements of tremendous value. Though I do not mean in any way to ignore the significance and value of the cultural and pleasure-giving province of history, I am glad to bear witness to the fact that history is one of the useful factors in human progress. The history of Frederick County will contribute much as we attempt to solve in this day of vast economic readjustment, problems of business, labor, agriculture, return of veterans to civilian life, elimination of governmental restrictions and so many other matters pressing upon us.

"Everyone knows that the present rate of federal taxation does not give opportunity for venture or risk of capital so essential to development of business. We must begin to reduce these taxes, yet be ready to meet the heavy cost of interest charges on debt, reconversion from a war to peace basis, reasonable needs of our veterans and of unemployment and other necessary expenditures.

"There is not time to attempt to dwell upon the many wise lessons that history can teach us. Let me emphasize one. Some people cavil at

our frequent references to what we call the American Way of Life. They are wrong. We cannot over-stress its importance. The American way of life typifies consistency, but it is elastic enough to permit change whenever clearly advisable.

"The American Way of Life began in Colonial Days. It grew greatly during the Revolutionary period. It went forward by leaps and bounds at the time our Constitution was framed and our nation was created. So throughout the years some of the apparent changes in our way of life are recognized almost universally as being in the nature of improvement.

"But our American Way of Life has certain principles which are fundamental. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the Four Freedoms, are among the basic elements of our concept. That way of life does now and must always continue to contemplate and require that our government of men and women should be freed as far as feasible from governmental restrictions. It holds that thrift, free enterprise and wide opportunity for private initiative and discretion are among the factors which have made this nation great. These principles are going to be preserved in our systems of government and society. We are not going to be swept from our moorings by socialistic or communistic theories of government. We are not going to embrace a regimentation or paternalism which would enfeeble. What we need is more and more invigorating self-reliance and less debilitating paternalism.

"In the furtherance of this great objective the people of Frederick will continue to serve valiantly, blessed by guidance from the light which ever shines so brightly in the history of Frederick. In this new home, ideally situated and adapted for the purposes desired, the Frederick County Historical Society can and will continue to play a very useful role."

The address was printed in full in the *Maryland News*, Silver Spring, Sept. 7, and in the Appendix to the *Congressional Record* for Nov. 6, 1945.

MORE LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF MARYLAND'S SEA COAST

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

Since this author's short history of the sea-coast of Maryland was published¹ some additional facts relating to this subject have come to hand:

The incident of the year 1698, when a sloop belonging to a certain John Redwood, of Philadelphia, was captured by a French privateer or pirate, as she came out of (old) Sinepuxent Inlet, is further clarified by entries in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.² The pirate, whose distorted French name is given as "John Canoot," was at

¹ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XL, p. 94-118 (June, 1945).

² *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 507. The author is indebted to Mr. C. A. Weslager, President of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, for calling his attention to this item.

that time in command of another sloop, which was said to belong to "one William," of Providence, which he, "Canoot," had taken somewhere near the Bahama Islands. His was the crew which plundered the town of Lewes. Redwood's vessel was taken "off Cinapuxon Inlett, 30 miles below ye cape" (Cape Henlopen).

After this, the inhabitants of the seaboard plantations of Somerset County doubtless felt that they had enough of French piracy; but other alarms from the same source were due. Both in 1708 and in the summer of the following year landing parties from French privateers (several of them each year) attempted to go ashore on that coast, to the great dismay of the local people. What deterred the desperados in the first instances is not made clear. The last attempt was frustrated by a company of militiamen hastily assembled by Colonel William Whittington, who candidly reported to the Assembly that this warlike move was no more than a bluff, since his men did not have time to repair to the plantation of Colonel Francis Jenkins, where all the county ammunition was then stored, so that, had there been action, they could not have put up much of a fight. It further appears that Colonel Jenkins, the ranking military officer of Somerset County, was aged, ill, deaf and in his dotage. Accordingly, the Assembly authorized Whittington to act in his stead in case of a future crisis of the sort, and ordered that one half of the county's supply of powder and shot be kept at his house. The Assembly further empowered Colonel Whittington to purchase "a Gun about 500 weight," and to place it "where he shall think fit to make an alarm on Occasion." It took cognizance of the "great Terroure of the Inhabitants" of Somerset County, occasioned by the constant threat of pirates, which seems to have continued into the year 1712, if not later. In that year the Assembly voted to reimburse four men, who were then serving as a kind of coast-guard in the emergency, namely: two horsemen, who must have been employed in patrolling the seashore; one man who kept watch on the coast for suspicious-looking ships; and one who manned the "Alarm Gun."³

It seems reasonable to infer that this "Great Gun," as it was styled, was mounted hard by the sea, so that the gunner, the horse patrol and the lookout man might keep in touch with one another; and it is hardly to be doubted that it was fired on occasion, though some of the alarms may have proved to be false. The noise of this cannon, booming out over the desolate seaside sand-hills and marshes, must have startled the lone fisherman or trapper as he poled his skiff up some reedy creek within sound of the ocean; and the excitement, which these unexpected detonations caused among the bayside plantations of the Somerset County seaboard, must have been intense. It is a pity that we can find no contemporary account of such alarms and their consequences.

The scarcity of information about shipwrecks on our sea-coast in colonial times and the manner of dealing with them is somewhat diminished

³ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XXVII, p. 391; Vol. XXIX, pp. 28, 92, 147.

by the discovery of an early item. In the year 1695 a Mr. Edward Green, surveyor of Somerset County, who lived near the seaside and claimed to be the owner of the great part of the shore,⁴ obtained from the Council, in answer to his request, a commission, which gave him authority over all "drift" (i. e., stranded, as in *driftwood*) whales "and other great ffish," otherwise styled "Royal fish," all of which, of course, were the property of the crown. He had permission to try out oil from blubber, and was further empowered to put down all meddling and interference, which might come from "strangers, intruders and interlopers," as well as from the local inhabitants.⁵ Mr. Green was afraid that even the timber growing on his seaside properties might be stolen.⁶

In those distant days the nearness of the sea tended to breed a spirit of lawlessness. In the year 1696 the most useful navigable inlet of our coast (*old* Sinepuxent Inlet)⁷ was the cause of some concern to the Council of Maryland on account of the illicit commerce which was reported to be making use of that thoroughfare. It was testified that pork and tobacco had been shipped out of the county via this inlet without benefit of entrance or clearance papers, and the consequent loss of revenue to the Province. The goods seem to have gone to Philadelphia, which is interesting, in view of other evidence of these early commercial connections.⁸ It was decided that, unless a special customs-officer should be appointed for the inlet, all ships entering there should be seized, together with their crews. Later the same year the Council appointed Mr. Thomas Poynter to be deputy naval officer at the inlet. The following year he petitioned the Council for a renewal of his commission, in response to which request the Council ordered Mr. John West, Naval Officer for Pocomoke District, and David Kennedy, Esq., Collector of his Majesty's Customs at that place, to consider the case and to do away with the office, if they should consider such a move to be in his Majesty's interest; but in no case to suffer any vessel to come in at the inlet, if no customs officer should be stationed there.⁹ Further light on this subject has not been vouchsafed to us.

⁴ This claim does not seem to have been based on fact. Green's heirs were taxed on a small part of "Winter Pasture," otherwise called "Winter Quarter" (Rent-Roll, Somerset County, Calvert Papers No. 885, f. 223); but, if Green ever had a claim to any other land on the Maryland seaboard, we have not found any record of it.

⁵ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX, pp. 292, 297, 298, 300-303.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 292. In the spring of 1696 Mr. Green reported to the Council "the late casting up of two sprig [*sic*] Whales upon the sea side in Somerset County." (*Ibid.*, p. 421).

⁷ In this author's opinion, there is no room for doubt that Old Sinepuxent Inlet was meant. Other inlets of Maryland's Atlantic seaboard were, about this time, regarded as navigable, however. (See *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XIX, p. 331).

⁸ We refer to the fact already noted that a sloop belonging to John Redwood, of Philadelphia, was taken by pirates as she came out of Sinepuxent Inlet in the year 1698.

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. XX, pp. 463, 487; XXIII, p. 279.

General Otho Holland Williams—Rev. John J. Tierney, S. S., of St. Charles College, Catonsville, has presented to the Society a typed copy of his unpublished dissertation "The Life and Letters of Otho Holland Williams, 1775-1783." Running to 119 pages, in addition to bibliography, this is the most extended study of Williams that has been made. Father Tierney has provided a general summary and estimate of the General, based on the extensive collection of Williams papers in the Society's library. The work will be a boon to students.

"*Wesorts*"—An account of the "Wesorts," the hybrid racial group which inhabits certain localities in Charles and Prince George's counties, Maryland, appeared in the *Journal of the Washington [D. C.] Academy of Sciences* for August 15, 1945. The author, William H. Gilbert, Jr., of the Library of Congress, considers the theories of origin of this mixed stock, the family names and physical features, economic and religious life, and education. He concludes that these people are in the pattern of "partially assimilated aborigines"—a type of minority not unknown today in many parts of the world.

Wyatt; Needles—Wanted surname of Ann ———? who married Thomas Wyatt (Wiatt) September 30, 1778. Thomas Wyatt was in Bridgeton, Caroline Co., Md., in 1776. Also, surname of Ann ———? and date of her marriage to William Needles (Neadels) before 1778. She was originally from Talbot Co., Md.

MRS. WM. D. RICHARDSON,
404 Brooks Ave., Magnolia, N. J.

Sessler—Thomas Sessler had a grant of land in Westmoreland Co., Pa., in 1773, while he was a resident of Frederick Co., Md. In 1776 he resided in that section of Frederick cut off into Washington Co. He removed to Botetourt Co., Va., after 1790 and died there intestate in 1805, leaving a widow *Nancy* and 7 children: Polly; John, b. 1782, married *Mary Bigler*; Jacob; Samuel; Thomas, Jr.; Mary m. Adam Steiger; and Nancy m. Isaac Haines. Information wanted concerning the parentage of *Thomas Sessler*. Where did he live before his residence in Maryland? What were the maiden names of his wife *Nancy* and the names of her parents?

MARY HOSS HEADMAN,
920 Walnut St., Knoxville, Tenn.

Strawbridge—Rev. Robert Strawbridge (sometimes written Strowbridge and Strobridge), early preacher of Methodism, married Elizabeth Piper, came to Maryland from Ireland about 1760. They had six children, Robert; George; Theophilus; Jane; Betsey; and Jesse who married Elizabeth Crawford in Baltimore in 1807, removed to Wellsburg, Brooke Co., Va., (now West Virginia) about 1813 and died there. Would like to correspond with descendants having any historical facts or family traditions. Genealogy of Rev. Robert Strawbridge and descendants being compiled.

LAURA DEMPSTER (MRS. HENRY H.) GRONEMEYER,
1508 West 11th St., Wilmington, Del.

Wells—Would like to correspond with descendants of Thomas Wells and Elizabeth Howard, married at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Baltimore County, Md., Sept. 16, 1736. Their children were: Francis, married Ann Tevis; Joseph married first Susanna Tevis, and second Betsey Owings; John married Dinah Cromwell; James; Thomas, Jr., married Mary Major; Richard died young; and Ann, only daughter, who married Robert Crawford. Information particularly required as to sons John, James, and Thomas, Jr. John and Thomas believed to have gone to Fayette Co., and Washington Co., Pa. Genealogy of Thomas Wells being compiled.

LAURA DEMPSTER (MRS. HENRY H.) GRONEMEYER,
1508 West 11th St., Wilmington, Del.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

FLETCHER M. GREEN, professor of history at the University of North Carolina, is the editor of the recent book, *I Rode with Stonewall*, by the late Major Henry Kyd Douglas of Maryland. He has been a contributor to many historical magazines and other publications. ☆ Native of Charles County, of which she writes, ETHEL ROBY (MRS. LEWIS M.) HAYDEN of Baltimore, has contributed many articles on historical topics to the periodical press. ☆ LOUIS DOW SCISCO has been for many years a student and writer on local history topics relating to Maryland. He served as associate editor of Volumes LIII, LIV, LVII and LX of the *Archives of Maryland*. ☆ Co-author with Edith R. Bevan of "*The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* (1941), ROSAMOND RANDALL (MRS. FRANCIS F.) BEIRNE is a member of the Council of the Society. ☆ Captain CHARLES B. CLARK, home after several years' absence in the Pacific, has returned to his post on the staff of the History Department of West Georgia College. He retains the status of a reserve officer in the Marine Corps.

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